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THE

MISCELLANEOUS THEOLOGICAL WORKS

OF

HENRY HAMMOND, D.D.,

ARCHDEACON OF CHICHESTER, AND CANON OF CHRIST CHURCH.

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MISCELLANEOUS

THEOLOGICAL WORKS

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TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,

BY JOHN FELL, D.D.,

DEAN OF CH. CH., AND LORD BISHOP OF OXFORD.

THIRD EDITION.

VOLUME II.

CONTAINING: OF THE REASONABLENESS OF CHRISTIAN RELIGION: OF FUNDAMENTALS: OF SCHISM: AND A PARÆNESIS.

OXFORD:
JOHN HENRY PARKER;
M DCCC XLIX.

OXFORD :
PRINTED BY I. SHRIMPTON.

OF THE

REASONABLENESS OF CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

OF FUNDAMENTALS,

IN A NOTION REFERRING TO PRACTICE.

OF SCHISM,

A DEFENCE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AGAINST THE EXCEPTIONS OF THE ROMANISTS.

A PARÆNESIS,

OR SEASONABLE EXHORTATORY TO ALL TRUE SONS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND:

WHEREIN IS INSERTED

A DISCOURSE OF HERESY IN DEFENCE OF OUR CHURCH AGAINST THE ROMANIST.

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MDCCCXLIX.

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LIST OF EDITIONS NOT REFERRED TO IN THE PREVIOUS VOLUME.

† These are the editions to which Hammond himself refers.

Aristides Dindorfii, 3 tom. 8vo. Lips. 1829.

Athanasius, S., ed. Ben. 2 tom. fol. Par. 1698.

†Balsamon, Canones, fol. Lut. Par. 1620.

Baronius, Annales Eccl., 12 tom. fol. Antv. 1601—29.

†Bibliotheca Vet. Patr., ed. Delabigne, 17 tom. fol. 1654.

†Cassandri Opera, fol. Par. 1616.

†Chalcidius in Platonis Timæum, Meursii, 4to. Lugd. Bat. 1617.

Chesne (Andreas du) Hist. Franc. Script. 4 tom. fol. Lut. Par. 1631—41.

†Concilia Binii, 9 tom. fol. Par. 1636.

——— Labbei et Cossartii, 15 tom. fol. Par. 1671—2.

Cyrillus, S. Hier., ed. Touttee, fol. Par. 1720.

Corpus Juris Canonici, fol. Lugd. 1624.

——— Civilis, Gothofredi, fol. Amst. 1663.

Dio Chrysostomus, ed. Reiske, 2 tom. 8vo. Lips. 1798.

Duarenus de sacris Ecclesiæ Ministeriis, 8vo. Par. 1585.

Eadmerus, Hist. Nov. ed. Selden, fol. Lond. 1623.

Epiphanius, S., Petavii, 2 tom. fol. Colon. 1682.

Eusebius, Hist. Eccl., 8vo. Oxon. 1845.

Fagius in Targum, fol. Argent. 1546.

Gallandii Bibliotheca Vet. Patr., 14 tom. fol. Venet. 1765—81.

Gellius, Aulus, ed. Tauchnitz., 12mo. Lips. 1835.

Gratiani Decretum, fol. Par. 1612.

Hammond's Paraphrase and Annotations, 4 vols. 8vo. Oxon. 1845.

——— Practical Catechism, 8vo. Oxford, 1847.

Hieronymus, S. ed. Ben. 4 tom. fol. Par. 1706.

Hilarius, S., ed. Ben. fol. Par. 1693.

†Justinus Martyr, fol. Par. 1636.

†Goldastus, Monarchia, 3 tom. fol. Hanov. et Franc. 1612—14.

Gregorius, S. Nazianz., ed. Ben. 2 tom. fol. Par. 1840.

———Nyssen., 3 tom. fol. Par. 1638.

——— Magnus, ed. Ben. 4 tom. fol. Par. 1705.

Guilielmus Malmsburiensis, ap. Rer. Angl. Script. q. v.

Henricus Huntingdoniensis, ap. Rer. Angl. Script. q. v.

†Leunclavius, Jus Græco-Romanum, fol. Francof. 1596.

Lucretius, ed. Creech, 8vo. London, 1835.

Matthæus Parisiensis, ed. Wats. fol. Lond. 1684.

Nicephorus, Eccles. Hist., 2 tom. fol. Par. 1630.

†Nilus de Primatu, ap. Salmasium de Primatu, 4to. Lugd. Bat. 1645.

Optatus, S. ed. Dupin, fol. Lut. Par. 1700.

Palladius, Lausiaca Historia, ap. Galland., q. v.

Phavorinus, Lexicon, fol. Basil, 1538.

Philo Judæus, ed. Mangey, 2 tom. fol. Lond. 1742.

Platina, de vitis Pontificum, fol. Colon. 1574.

Plato, ed. Bekker, 11 tom. 8vo. Lond. 1826.

Plinius, Nat. Hist., ed. Delph., 5 tom. 4to. Par. 1685.

——— Epistolæ, 12mo. Lond. 1790.

Proclus, Analecta, 4to. Romæ, 1630.

Prosperus, S., fol. Par. 1711.

Quintilianus, Burmanni, 3 tom. 4to. Lugd. Bat. 1720.

Rerum Anglicanarum Scriptores post Bedam Præcipui, fol. Francof. 1601.

Sayrus, Clavis Regia Sacerdotum fol. Venet. 1605.

Socolovius, fol. Cracov. 1591.

Socrates, Hist. Eccl. Valesii, fol. Par. 1668.

Suetonius, Grævii. 4to. Traj. ad Rhen. 1703.

Tacitus, Gronovii, 2 tom. 4to. Traj. Batav. 1721.

Tatianus, ap. Just. Mart., ed. Ben. fol. Par. 1742.

Vincentius Lirinensis. 12mo. Oxon. 1836.

Warnefridus de gestis Langobardorum, 8vo. Lugd. Bat. 1595.

Wesselus Groningensis, ap. Goldastum, q. v.

Widdrington's Last Rejoinder, &c. 4to. 1619.

†Zonaras, Canones, fol. Lut. Par. 1618.

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THE four treatises which occupy the present volume have no particular connexion either in point of subject or of time of publication, but have been selected as forming the most interesting portion of the author's works, and as being, next to the Practical Catechism, the least directly controversial of his writings. Indeed, with the exception of the tract on Schism, the defence of which occupied him till his death, none of them engaged the author in any controversy.

The treatise on the Reasonableness of Christian Religion was written apparently soon after the death of the king, whilst the author was under a sort of *libera custodia* as he calls it, at the house of his friend Mr. (afterwards Sir Philip) Warwick, at Clapham, in Bedfordshire. The first edition of it was published in 1650, but as there is no allusion to it in any of his letters, the Editor is not able to fix more exactly the date of its composition or publication, though the evident allusions to the king's death shew that it was written at some time during the year 1649, and the fact that a third edition was issued in 1650 renders it probable that the first was published at the commencement of the year, i. e. about April, or perhaps even somewhat earlier, as it was not unusual for books published some few weeks before the actual commencement of the year, i. e. March 25th, to anticipate its date. Like most of Hammond's publications, it was written to meet a pressing necessity. Upon the death of Charles the cause of the Church of England seemed well-nigh hopeless, and whilst many were straying to the Roman communion, those whose sympathies were not in that direction, and who were either too high-bred for the vulgarities of Presbyterianism, or too intellectual to be attracted by the

fanaticism of the Independents, now the dominant party in the state, were gradually shaking off the restraints of religion, and were degenerating into profligate conduct, and as its necessary consequence, infidelity either open or disguised.

The tract itself, which was first published in a very small 12mo. size, probably as a pocket companion, must have had a rapid sale, and the reason of the third edition appearing in 4to. may have been to enable it to be bound up with the recently published fifth edition of the Practical Catechism. Since the author's death it has always appeared with the Catechism, and next to it has enjoyed a greater degree of popularity than any of his works. The small number of quotations from ancient authors is perhaps an evidence that he had not yet removed his library from Oxford; and it is observable that in the other treatises which he wrote during this year, viz., the Address to Fairfax, and the Vindication of the Address, he makes few references to authorities, and those generally quoted from memory.

The two following treatises are not placed in the order of publication, for that on Schism was published first. Fulman, with his usual want of accuracy, speaks of them as both published in the year 1654. Wood, who is much more trustworthy in matters of fact, correctly assigns the date of 1653 to the tract on Schism. Very few copies, however, exhibit this date, as the book was issued with a new title-page in 1654, in which year both the works were sent out in a single volume with one title-page, which, from mentioning the Fundamentals first, probably shews that that was the order in which their author wished them to be read.

That the treatise on Fundamentals was printed later than that on Schism further appears from a passage in Hammond's Reply to the Catholic Gentleman's Answer to the Book of Schism, chap. viii. sect. 2. (vol. ii. p. 45.) as well as from its being advertised in the fly leaf of the volume on Schism as forthcoming; the exact time at which they appeared may be inferred from the following unpublished letters, the first two of which are addressed by the author to Sheldon, the others being communications from Wrenn, bishop of Ely.

[Harl. 107.]

Dear Sir,

I am sorry that last of mine which I hastened to you should have the ill luck to loiter by the way, and not arrive according to your expectation, though I am confident it would have been perfectly useless, and suggested only your own thoughts to you. That Dr. Sa[nderson] is off that project I am glad to be told by you, though I fear the same eagerness of humour will clearly subject him to the like mistake. I am much in the condition my last represented me, left only to God's goodness, the use of the hawes having put off for a while all other medicines, and having no exercise but an half hour's walk in the gallery every morning, after a glass of ale. What if I took the hawes twice a week for a while?

I am yours,

H[ENRY] H[AMMOND.]

Dec. 9, [1653.]

The tract of Schism is now near an end, and ordered to attend you by the next.

For Dr. Sheldon.

[Harl. 119.]

Dear Sir,

I suppose you ere this tired with that of Schism, but satisfied that there is little in it to the purpose you expected. If you have ought to admonish me of in it I suppose I need not beg it of you. I thank God my indisposition is much more moderate than it was, and if it were warmer weather I would adventure to look abroad, till which trial made I am less able to pass judgment of myself. I begin this day to take the hawes somewhat oftener than before, but will not yet venture on twice a week. The general discourse is that by this last shuffle the Presbyt[erian] is turned up trump, and the articles will tell you how little advantage is to be expected by us. If the peace with Holland be concluded, I look on this as the worst change hath yet come; but I am assured that although the twenty-five articles between Cr[omwell] and their ambassador be concluded, yet that the ambas-

sadors are gone yesterday without signing. This perhaps will differ from the news which you will hear, and therefore I here interpose it impertinently. All here are under agues and cold but myself; the lady under the latter.

I am your's

[Henry Hammond.]

Jan. 3, [1653-4.]

[For Dr. Sheldon.]

V. 4 *a. lin.* 6 *a fine.* "who is convinced that they are erroneous, etc." This must be yet more tenderly and cautiously set down, otherwise you leave many thousand well-minded and conscientious men not able to judge aright yet easy to be puzzled of themselves and misled by others, and so to think themselves convinced, though it be done by fallacies not observable by them, as now put by you into a necessity of sinning, (of which rule the Romanists will be ready to make use,) by making a schism, for fear of sinning by their continuing in that communion.

a. The sheets not being paged nor the paragraphs numbered, and but .... noted, the least I could do in case I should need to make any reference was to give every sheet a numeral at the bottom upon the first page thereof at the left hand corner, and counting the four pages A, B, C, D. But it proved needless because I had so little to say.

β. A great part depends upon history touching which he will say nothing, As taking the most to be right, and having no opportunity to examine any place.

δ[a]. ii. d.] would not that phrase of St. Chrysostome *ἔθνος ὁλόκληρον τὸ τῆς Ἀσίας* agreeable to the discourse you ..... be interpreted. "The whole Gentile part of that Asia was committed to him?"

25. *a. lin.* 13. "When others" add "not of the English persuasion only but those of the Romish persuasion, even their priests and leaders."

Ibid. c. lin. 3. | "They do not stand" What if you do add "The issue wherein we only leave to Christ the great Bishop and Arch-Shepherd of His Church."

[a] δ refers to page 240, chap. iv. § 15.

Sir

I am bid to tell you that he hath twice read over your tract of Schism, as well as his weak eyes would suffer him, and he heartily thanks you for it.

Turn ut in $\alpha/^{2}$ post ut $\beta/^{1}$ what more he could observe fit to mind you of is very little, yet this he says $\gamma/$ dem̄ ut $\delta/$

He hath no more at the present but only to wish you all health and happiness at the pleasure of Almighty God.

Jun 8, 1653.

Sir

The name is now altered that is to attend you in this kind. Cleaveland being out of the way, and not having lately called at your stationer's. He sent a note to call for him but he was not there. That note being carried on to his master, order was given to me that I should go thither. I did, and when I came to him I was carried by him to one Mr. Sudbury, from whom I received your letter to Cleveland and £20, and carried them back with me. He started when he saw it. At last he thought meet that I should return an answer to this effect, that there is so much goodness and love in the thing in result that is done, and in this manner of it, that he cannot but very thankfully embrace it. Yet withal he said, Had you been present with him, that he might have had conference with you perhaps upon it. He should not have been so ready to admit of such a kindness; as desiring wholly to submit himself and his to the holy pleasure of God in all these outward pressures, and not to become burdensome therein to others, till extreme necessity enforce it. 'Tis in his daily devotions (he says) that he (in some measure) may be enabled to say, as the Apostle has shewed him the way, Philip. iv. 11, 12, 13. However his thanks cannot now but attend the sweetness of the intention which he thereby apprehends in yourself and in that other unknown party. And he sent [?] his prayers also for the mercies and goodness of God upon you all for the mercy intended herein by you.

Of the recovery of your health he hopes well by the

writing of your letter though it mentioned nothing of it. Neither said it any thing of the two last treatises, (Of Schism; and of Fundamentals,) but he shall be glad to know how you dispose of them.

More for the present he would not say; But only commanded me to tender my services to you by the name (thereafter to be used, if you pleased, in any directions from you; for which he will daily wait at your stationer's) of

your humble Servant

Benjamin Hide.

October 4, 1653.

Sir

Your treatise of Schism was sent yesterday by your Stationer and was received as a very welcome gift for the new year. Many hearty thanks he sends you for it; And is very glad to understand (out of the last leafe;) that the other treatise of Fundamentals is in the press. I am to signify to you from him that his wishes for you are of many a new year (at the will of Almighty God) healthful and honorable to you; holy and happy.

I am your humble servant,

B. H.

Jan. 31, 1653[-4.]

Sir

Two days since your stationer sent for me & gave me the treatise of Fundamentals, which I carried presently as you intended it; he is now reading it over again. In the mean while he hath commanded me not to let this return of the carrier pass without a return of his hearty thanks and his wishes of all welfare to you, as to himself, who blessed be God is in passing good health and very cheerful.

Your humble servant, B. H.

Feb. 23°, [1653-4.]

From these letters it appears that the treatise on Schism was finished and the MS. placed in Wrenn's hands before June 8, 1653, and that both were completed before Oct. 4, 1653, the former being published before Jan. 31, 1653-4, and the other before Feb. 23 of the same year, with the date of the coming year 1654, which did not really begin till March 25, on its title-page; and the passages alluded to in the first letter shew that Hammond altered the tract after it had been returned, as neither of them occurs in the printed volume.

Some account of these letters may be interesting. The two first are from a large collection of letters addressed to Sheldon by Hammond, between the years 1649 and 1659, amongst the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum. The others came from the library of the late librarian of Sion College, and appear to be copies of some letters written by an amanuensis under a fictitious name at the dictation, or according to the direction of Wrenn, bishop of Ely. They are not originals, but appear to be facsimile copies of the same period, and the hand-writing very much resembles Wrenn's; though it scarcely can be his, as it is unlikely he would have copied his own letters, with all their erasures and interlineations. The collection contains about thirty letters, including Hammond's answers, which are unmistakeably in his own handwriting. The first here printed appears to be only part of a letter, the rest having been lost; the second has been reprinted exactly from the MS. excepting only the substitution of modern spelling, though it is impossible now to explain the middle paragraph of it. The evidence for their being by the bishop of Ely is entirely internal, their late possessor being apparently ignorant who was their author.

The present has been called the third edition of the treatise on Fundamentals on the strength of Wood's assertion that there was an edition of 1658, but as the Editor has never seen a copy bearing this date, he is unable to say whether it was a new and altered edition, or merely a reissue with a new title-page. The tract on Schism, which has never been reprinted, involved Hammond in a controversy which lasted till his death. The first attack made upon it was by an anonymous writer, in a letter from

Brussels, entitled "An Answer to the most material parts of Dr. Hammond's Book of Schism, or a Defence of the Church of England against exceptions of the Romanists: written in a letter from a Catholic Gentleman to his friend in England." London, 1654. This scarce pamphlet consists of twenty-eight quarto pages, the contents of which are incorporated nearly verbatim in Hammond's Reply. This letter professes to be addressed to one who sent it to the writer, laying his commands on him to read it, and thereupon give his opinion[b]. The author says that the subject had been in his mind before, as he had heard of a volume written to the same purpose by Dr. Ferne, as well as of another lately published by Bramhall, bishop of Derry, and professes to answer the most material points of Hammond's treatise, leaving it to others who had more leisure, to consider and answer it more at large. The letter is signed, 'Your friend and humble servant, B. P.,' and is dated from Brussels, March 30, 1654. In the same year, Hammond published his "Reply to a Catholic Gentleman's Answer to the most material parts of the Book of Schism," together with an "Account of H. T." (i. e. Henry Turberville) "his Appendix to his Manual of Controversies concerning the Abbot of Bangor's Answer to Augustine." Hammond was quite ignorant who his antagonist was, and intimates his belief[c] that the tract had been revised by some superior before going to press. The words 'as learned as he who is by some characters thought to be the author of this Answer,' which occur in the introduction to Hammond's Reply, shew that he had formed some conjecture, though not as it would appear a correct one, as to the authorship of the Catholic Gentleman's Answer. This Reply was concluded before Hammond had heard[d] of Henry Turberville's Manual of Controversies being in the press. He procured a sight of this book before it came out, and annexed to his Reply his observations upon the appendix to it. Turberville's book appeared at Doway an. 1654, and is entitled, 'A manual of controversies clearly demonstrating the truth of Catholic religion by texts of holy Scripture, councils of all ages, fathers of the first 500 years, common sense and reason, and fully answering the principal

[b] Works, vol. ii. p. 1. [c] Ib., p. 12. [d] Ib., p. 55.

objections of Protestants and all other sectaries, by H.T.' It contains an approbation, 'datum Duaci 14 April., 1654,' and two Latin letters of recommendation, one of them signed by Thomas ex Albiis East-Saxonum, Prid. Kal. Ap. 1654. The appendix, (pp. 401—414,) which is the only part of the work alluded to by Hammond, is entirely occupied with the passage from Spelman's Concilia, quoted at page 256 of the present volume, which he endeavours to prove to be spurious, offering several arguments which are replied to by Hammond, who reminds him that the statement on the ground of which he wished to throw discredit on the passage, is established on independent evidence, so that the argument had not the importance which it otherwise would have assumed. Soon afterwards another volume, entitled "Schism disarmed of the defensive weapons lent it by Dr. Hammond and the Bishop of Derry," appeared at Paris, 8vo. 1655, signed with the initials S.W. In this volume the original tract of Schism is assailed, but no notice taken of Hammond's Reply to the Catholic Gentleman. The book is divided into three parts, and after the table of contents is an advertisement professing to be from the stationer to the reader, commencing—"Though the entertainment to which the author invites thee be almost wholly new, and the food substantial and solid, yet the stomach of the times seeming quite cloyed with controversy, obliged both him to quicken thy relish with a little piquant sauce, and me to tempt thy coy appetite with this short and drollish bill of fare." And here follows another index, containing a direction to all the passages where Dr. Hammond is held up to ridicule, which will give the reader who does not wish to take the trouble of perusing the whole book, a tolerably clear idea of the irreverent and scurrilous style of the author. The volume consists of 333 pages, the last thirty of which contain an appendix entitled, 'Down Derry, or Bishop Bramhall's just Vindication of the Church of England refuted.' Who the author was Hammond does not at the time appear to have known, but in his reply to it, "The Disarmer's Dexterities Examined, in a Second Defence of the treatise of Schism," which was printed in 1656, states his persuasion that the author of the epistle from Brussels is the same individual that wrote at least the

first part of "Schism Disarmed," arguing from the similarity of substance, the latter work seeming to him to be only an expansion of the former. The bishop of Derry's, i. e. Bramhall's, tract had appeared also in 1654, and was entitled 'A just vindication of the Church of England from the unjust aspersion of criminal Schism.' Bramhall in a subsequent publication speaks of the author of "Schism Disarmed" as if he had no doubt that his name was William Serjeant. Wood calls him John Serjeant, alias Smith, and Dodd in his Church History informs us that he sometimes adopted the name of Holland. He had been a student at St. John's, Cambridge, and afterwards was secretary to Moreton, bishop of Durham. He became a convert to Rome about 1642, and was sent to England in 1652 for controversial purposes.

"The Disarmer's Dexterities Examined" was published probably early in the year 1656, and certainly was written earlier than the Parænesis, as we learn from an allusion to it at page 322 of the present volume.

Serjeant was not long in replying, as he published during the following year a large 8vo. volume, under the title "Schism Despatched, or A Rejoinder to the Replies of Dr. Hammond and the Lord of Derry," with an Appendix. This volume has no place of publication or bookseller's name mentioned on its title-page, but it appears from the preface that it was printed abroad, and an apology is offered for the many misprints, occasioned by the printer being a perfect stranger to the language. The delay in its publication (for it did not appear till near the end of the year 1657) is attributed partly to this cause, partly to a miscarriage which the author says it "is too well known to have had a twelvemonth ago." The author accounts for his not having noticed in his previous volume, Hammond's Reply to the Catholic Gentleman, by saying that Schism Disarmed was out of his hands long before the Reply came abroad. The first 473 pages are occupied with the controversy with Hammond, and the rest of the volume is devoted to Bramhall, and is entitled, "The Appendix vindicated against the Pretended Reply of Dr. Bramhall, Lord of Derry."

In the same year, 1657, Hammond wrote his "Reply to some passages of the Reviewer in his late book of Schism,

concerning his charge of corruptions in the Primitive Church, and some other particulars." This was printed as an appendix to the "Continuation of the Defence of Hugo Grotius." But it was not till 1659 that the author published his complete answer to "Schism Despatched," with the title "The Despatcher Despatched, or An Examination of the Romanist's Rejoinder to Dr. Hammond's Replies, wherein is inserted a view of their profession and oral tradition in the way of Mr. White." In the preface to this are inserted some reflections on Dr. Holden's Strictures on the Tract of Schism, in which the author notices the different tone assumed by Dr. Holden and by S. W. Hammond was at this time fully aware who his antagonist was, speaking of him[e] as the triumphant deserter and opposer of the Church of England, and[f] as having once been a servant of the bishop of D[urham], at the same time intimating his belief that Mr. S., who assumes to be the author of Schism Disarmed, was not the sole author, but that Mr. Thomas White, the author of Rushworth's Dialogues, had liberally contributed to it. S. W. had noticed Hammond's expression of his opinion that the Catholic Gentleman was the same individual with himself, and appears to wish to persuade him that Mr. Cressy was the author of the Catholic Gentleman's Answer. This Hammond evidently does not believe, but if we may judge from the expression[g] that it is extrinsical to the argument who was the penner or who the suggester of these publications, he must have thought that they were neither of them the production of any single individual. He in another passage[h] recurs to the subject, observing that it is not material whether the author of Rushworth's Dialogues, Mr. White the Apologist for those Dialogues and S. W. the Despatcher, make up but one or more persons. This volume was in the next year followed by a small pamphlet entitled "A Brief Account of a Suggestion against the Despatcher Despatched." And here the controversy closed as far as Hammond was concerned[i]. He died shortly after the publication of the last pamphlet.

[e] Ib., p. 164. [f] Ib, p. 183.
[g] Ib., p. 189. [h] Ib., p. 228.
[i] For a further account of the part which Bramhall took in the controversy the reader is referred to the preface to the second volume of the Oxford edition of Bramhall's Works.

The remaining treatise of the present volume appeared first in 1656, upon the occasion of Cromwell's issuing the following proclamation forbidding the use of the Common Prayer.

"His Highness the Lord Protector, upon advice with his council, finding it necessary, for the reasons and upon the grounds expressed in his late declaration, to use all good means to secure the peace of the nation, and prevent future troubles within the same, hath thought fit to publish and declare, and by and with the consent of his council, doth publish, order, and declare, that no person or persons whatsoever, in England or Wales, whose estates have been sequestered for delinquency, or who were actually in arms for the late King against the then Parliament, or for Charles Stuart his son, or have adhered to, abetted, or assisted the forces raised against the said Parliament, do, from and after the first day of December, 1655, buy, use, or keep in his or their house, or houses, or elsewhere, any arms offensive, or defensive; upon pain, that every person and persons so offending, shall forfeit and lose such arms, and be otherwise proceeded against, according to the orders of his Highness and the council, for securing the peace of the Commonwealth. And his Highness, by the advice of his council, doth also publish, declare, and order, that no person or persons aforesaid, do, from and after the first day of January, 1655, keep in their houses and families, as chaplains or schoolmasters, for the education of their children, any sequestered or ejected minister, fellow of any college, or schoolmaster; nor permit any of their children to be taught by such, upon pain of being proceeded against in such sort, as the said orders do direct in such cases. And that no person, who hath been sequestered or ejected out of any benefice, college, or school, for delinquency or scandal; shall from and after the first day of January, keep any school, either public or private; nor any person, who after that time shall be ejected, for the causes aforesaid.

"And that no person, who for delinquency or scandal, hath been sequestered or ejected, shall from and after the first day of January aforesaid, preach in any public place, or at any private meeting of any other persons than those of his own

family; nor shall administer Baptism, or the Lord's Supper, or marry any persons, or use the Book of Common Prayer, or the Forms of Prayer therein contained; upon pain, that any person, so offending in any of the premises, shall be proceeded against, as by the said orders, is provided and directed. And to the end all persons concerned may take notice hereof, and avoid the danger of any of the said penalties, his Highness doth charge and command all sheriffs, within their respective counties, cities, and towns, to cause this declaration to be proclaimed and published. Nevertheless his Highness doth declare, that towards such of the said persons as have, since their ejection or sequestration, given or shall hereafter give, a real testimony of their godliness and good affection to the present government; so much tenderness shall be used, as may consist with the safety and good of this nation.

"Given at Whitehall, this fourth day of October, 1655."

London, printed by Henry Hills and John Field, printers to his Highness.

It is probable that the penalties of this proclamation were not very strictly enforced; and from some passages towards the end of the Parænesis it would appear that Hammond did not expect they would be. Parr, in his life of Ussher, p. 75, says that the Archbishop at the request of the episcopal clergy in and about London, petitioned Cromwell for the same liberty of conscience for the episcopal divines in serving God in their private congregations, now that they were not allowed the use of the public churches, according to the Liturgy of the Church of England, which was granted to other forms of religion; and that the Protector promised they should not be molested, provided they did not interfere with matters relating to government. Upon a second interview which the Primate of Armagh had with Cromwell, this promise was retracted, his council having advised the Protector that they thought it unsafe for him to grant liberty of conscience to men who were restless and implacable enemies to him and his government.

A petitionary remonstrance had also been presented to the Protector in February, 1655-6, by the notorious Dr.

Gauden, who was after the Restoration successively bishop of Exeter and Worcester. It does not seem to have been printed till 1659. In this petition the chief stress is laid on the poverty to which members of the families of the sequestered scholars and clergy, the number of whom he estimates at from twenty to thirty thousand, would be reduced by their want of employment. The author speaks of above half the number of clergy in the country having been deprived. In the postscript there is an allusion to Ussher's personal intercession with the Protector, but neither of these petitions seems to have had much effect upon him at the time, Gauden observing that Ussher's remark to him upon his failure was that some men had *intestina* but no *viscera*.

Whatever may have been the intentions of the government, Hammond must have felt much greater alarm than he could venture to express. His biographer speaks of this tract having cost him more throes and pangs of birth than any of his polemical discourses, it having been penned first in tears, and then in ink. And one principal cause for uneasiness, was the increasing probability of a failure in the succession of the English Episcopate, now that the actions of the surviving bishops and clergy were likely to be most narrowly watched. At least two separate schemes for preserving the succession had failed from some cause or other, and the last two or three years had materially diminished the number of the English bishops. It is well known that there were but nine who lived to see the king restored, and at the time of the publication of the Paræsis, there were only to be added to these the names of Ralph Brownrigg, of Exeter, Joseph Hall, of Norwich, and Thomas Moreton, of Durham. There were still a few Irish bishops surviving, and perhaps only one bishop of the Scotch Church, so that there was considerable danger of the English succession coming to an end, as owing to there having been no consecrations since 1644 most of the bishops were very old, and either under restraint, (as Bishop Wrenn, of Ely,) or too infirm to be depended on. At the close of the previous year, 1655, there appeared a fair prospect of the matter being arranged. The king's mandate had been drawn up by Hyde, and was ready to be issued to any four bishops who could be procured, whe-

ther English or foreign, to proceed to the consecration at any time and in any place they might think fit. How the scheme was rendered abortive does not appear, but it seems that the intention was that two English bishops should cross the sea in order to join with Bramhall, and perhaps the bishop of Galloway, in consecrating some persons to the office of a bishop. In the form drawn out, Clare is the name of the person mentioned, and Chester the see to which he is nominated; but this is only for the sake of filling up the form, though it is not unlikely he would have been one of those presented, being one of the principal divines living abroad at the time. The bishops of Ely, Salisbury, Rochester, Lichfield, and Chichester, were concerned in this scheme. The two latter offered to cross the sea, and to perform the consecrations in foreign parts, but the bishop of Salisbury was unwilling to do this, and wished one of the bishops then resident abroad to have been sent over to England for the purpose, signifying that Ussher and Brownrigg were willing to assist.

Duppa, bishop of Salisbury, signified that he desired the king to make a collation of the persons whom he intended for bishops, and to draw up a mandate to himself and other bishops in England to consecrate them. These documents he wished the king to preserve, and only to signify whom they were to consecrate, in the words, 'I remember my service to such and such,' &c., as he said any thing sent into England signed by his Majesty would destroy all that acted upon it. The principal difficulty in the case appears to have been as regards the law of the land, as not only might the bishops hereafter incur a penalty for having deviated from it, but the validity of their acts would be likely to be called in question by the Presbyterian party and others who were averse to the episcopal form of Church government.

However, this scheme entirely failed, and with it all human probability of the English Episcopate being preserved unless there should be a restoration of the king.

This short account of the posture of affairs in the Church, has been given to enable the reader better to appreciate the circumstances under which the Parænesis was composed. The present is the third separate edition of this treatise that

has been published, it having been reprinted at Oxford a few years since. The reprint of all the four tracts has been made from the folio edition of Hammond's Works, errors having been corrected by reference to the earlier editions.

N. P.

January 24, 1849.

OF THE

REASONABLENESS

OF

CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

Ἕτοιμοι [δὲ] ἀεὶ πρὸς ἀπολογίαν παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντι ὑμᾶς λόγον περὶ τῆς ἐν ὑμῖν ἐλπίδος.—1 PET. iii. 15.

[THIRTEENTH EDITION.]

CONTENTS

OF THE REASONABLENESS OF CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

PAGE

CHAP. I.—THE GROUNDS OF CHRISTIANITY, OR THE REASONS UPON WHICH MEN EMBRACE CHRISTIAN RELIGION IN THE GROSS, ALL OF IT TOGETHER 5

CHAP. II.—A DIGRESSION CONCERNING THE USE OF REASON IN DECIDING CONTROVERSIES IN RELIGION 26

CHAP. III.—OF THE POWER OF THE AFFECTIONS AND INTERESTS IN MATTERS OF FAITH 33

CHAP. IV.—OF THE ADVANTAGES OF CHRISTIAN RELIGION IN THE GROSS 37

CHAP. V.—THE EXCEPTIONS AGAINST SOME PARTICULARS IN CHRISTIAN RELIGION; AND 1, GOD'S DISPOSITIONS OF PROVIDENCE . 48

CHAP. VI.—THE EXCEPTIONS AGAINST CHRIST'S COMMANDS . . 58

THE INTRODUCTION.

1. It hath always been accounted more reasonable to doubt of principles first, and then to throw off the deductions that naturally arise from them, than to contest the conclusions when the principles or premises are granted. This occasioned that saying of Picus Mirandula, that "the speculative atheist was the greatest prodigy but one, and that was the practical atheist." To acknowledge Christian religion to be true, and consequently, that without sincere obedience to all Christ's precepts, not only the infinite rewards of the Gospel are forfeited, but the infinite torments become our portion; and yet to live lives of profaneness and luxury, and indulgence to every liberty that suits with our humours, without fear or discomfiture of mind, is a shortness of discourse that no man that hath consideration enough to examine, or judgment to compare, can choose but discern and condemn in himself. As therefore the Epicurean[a] that was resolved not to be repressed, or live in the awe of religion and priests, counted it but necessary to disbelieve the perpetuity of torments beyond this life; so hath it been Satan's method, and the advantage which he hath taken of these times, from the commonness of casting down mounds and hedges, of disputing and questioning the most established truths, to offer it to the reason and judgment of his clients, whether it be not more easy and hopeful to break up the foundation itself, than, while that remains in its firmness, to demolish that which is erected upon it, and by entangling men in those practices which render them incapable of receiving benefit by Christianity, to oblige them to endeavour to cast off the doctrines, and to rid themselves from the ill consequences

[Influence of practice on belief.]

[a] —— Nam si certam finem esse viderent
Ærumnarum homines, aliqua ratione valerent
Relligionibus atque minis obsistere vatum.—Lucret. i. [108.]

of it. Thus have some men taught themselves the skill and dexterity of unravelling principles, and by giving themselves liberty to disobey Christ in some pleasant or gainful particulars, have at last in their own defence, that they may salve their phenomena, and appear congruous to themselves, arrived calmly to the scorner's chair, the casting off Christianity itself.

2. Instead of gainless complaints, I shall therefore hasten to give some check to this growing evil, and reduce the whole matter of debate to these two heads.

[Method of this treatise.] 3. First, I shall consider the grounds of Christianity in the gross, or bulk, all of it together, and in some measure justify the reasonableness of them; and then secondly, I shall descend, in the retail, to the survey and vindication of those particular branches of Christianity which appear to men at this time to be least supported with reason.

CHAP. I.

THE GROUNDS OF CHRISTIANITY, OR THE REASONS UPON WHICH MEN EMBRACE CHRISTIAN RELIGION IN THE GROSS, ALL OF IT TOGETHER.

1. In lieu of the many grounds, or several branches and improvements of the same one complicated ground, which other men[b] have very rationally enlarged on, this present discourse, which desires not to expatiate, nor to suppose the reader to have renounced his Christianity wholly, shall confine itself to these two heads: first, the testimony on which Christianity is built; secondly, the advantages that those which embrace it shall reap by it. The first will render the belief rational, and conclude it impious to doubt of it. The second will render the belief gainful, and conclude it most uncharitable to ourselves, yea, and unsafe and treacherous, not to adhere to it. The first will pronounce it, with the Apostle, "a faithful saying;" the second, "worthy of all acceptation." The first will reconcile it to our brains, the second to our hearts. The first will give it possession of our understandings, the second will ravish our wills with the beauty and lustre of it. [1 Tim. i. 15; iv. 9.]

2. The testimony on which we believe Christianity, i. e. on which we believe that Christ was sent from God, to reveal His Father's will unto us, and to be believed in all that He delivered to the world,—which when it is believed, it necessarily follows, that all and every part of Christian religion is infallibly true, and capable of no further doubting,—is the most important and convincing of belief, or faith, which can be imagined. [Testimony to the truth of Christian religion.]

3. For if the Apostle had not said it, it is yet in itself most evident to common sense, that "faith cometh by hearing," i. e. that I cannot believe any thing to be true on any better, nay on any other ground but only that I hear it thus affirmed. [Rom. x. 17.]

[b] Hugo Grotius [De veritate religionis Christianæ libri sex, 4to. Lugd. Bat. 1627. The edition referred to by Hammond is probably that *cum annotationibus auctoris.* 8vo. Par. 1640, reprinted fol. Par. 1650,] and Philip Morney du Plessis, [De la verité de la religion Chretienne; contre les Athées, Epicuriens, Payens, Juifs, Mahomedistes et autres infideles, 4to. Anvers. 1581. This book was published also in Latin *interprete ipso auctore,* 8vo. Lugd. 1587, and in English translated by Sir Philip Sidney and Arthur Golding, 4to. Lond. 1617.]

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And as the affirmation is, such is the belief: if the affirmation be from a fallible person, from a mere man, the belief must be a fallible belief; but if the person affirming be infallible, then is the belief infallible also.

[God's testimony leaves no room for doubt.] [Rom. iii. 4.]

4. That infallible affirmer is but one, viz., God, of whose nature it is to be veracious, to be able to do any thing but to lie, which was also affirmed by Christ out of the principles of common nature, "Let God be true, and every man a liar;" i. e. though no infallibility of testimony can be attributed to any mere man, yet whatsoever is testified by God, doth certainly deserve to be fully credited.

5. And therefore if God shall testify the truth of any thing, there can be no further scruple or possibility of doubting, or suspecting the truth of what is so testified, than there is actual doubt whether the God of heaven be God, or whether the God of truth be the father of lies: which as it is a degree above the denying of Christ, and above the infidelity either of the Jew, or Mahometan, or even of heathenism itself, in that notion wherein it signifies the acknowledgment[c] of more gods than one,—for all that have adored any deity have acknowledged that god, or gods, to "speak nothing but truth[d]"—so is the pretending to it peculiar to very few since the beginning of the world; there being not many that appear in story to have affirmed that there is no God at all, and those not able to persuade others that they did believe themselves when they so affirmed.

[Kinds of testimony.]

6. Now this affirmation or testification of God, that Christ was sent from Him to declare His will to us, &c.,—upon which, being once supposed, the truth of all Christian religion truly so called, is immediately and infallibly founded,—hath more than one way been authentically interposed. Such are the many repeated testimonies of the prophets in the Old Testament, which, finding a perfect completion in Christ, and none but Christ, do amount to a divine testimony. Such was the coming of the angel to Mary the mother of Christ, and to Elizabeth[e] the mother of John Baptist, in the New Testament, as also the star which lighted the wise men of the East unto Him, and of which the heathens themselves

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CHAP. I.

And as the affirmation is, such is the belief: if the affirmation be from a fallible person, from a mere man, the belief must be a fallible belief; but if the person affirming be infallible, then is the belief infallible also.

[God's testimony leaves no room for doubt.] [Rom. iii. 4.]

4. That infallible affirmer is but one, viz., God, of whose nature it is to be veracious, to be able to do any thing but to lie, which was also affirmed by Christ out of the principles of common nature, "Let God be true, and every man a liar;" i. e. though no infallibility of testimony can be attributed to any mere man, yet whatsoever is testified by God, doth certainly deserve to be fully credited.

5. And therefore if God shall testify the truth of any thing, there can be no further scruple or possibility of doubting, or suspecting the truth of what is so testified, than there is actual doubt whether the God of heaven be God, or whether the God of truth be the father of lies: which as it is a degree above the denying of Christ, and above the infidelity either of the Jew, or Mahometan, or even of heathenism itself, in that notion wherein it signifies the acknowledgment[c] of more gods than one,—for all that have adored any deity have acknowledged that god, or gods, to "speak nothing but truth[d]"—so is the pretending to it peculiar to very few since the beginning of the world; there being not many that appear in story to have affirmed that there is no God at all, and those not able to persuade others that they did believe themselves when they so affirmed.

[Kinds of testimony.]

6. Now this affirmation or testification of God, that Christ was sent from Him to declare His will to us, &c.,—upon which, being once supposed, the truth of all Christian religion truly so called, is immediately and infallibly founded,—hath more than one way been authentically interposed. Such are the many repeated testimonies of the prophets in the Old Testament, which, finding a perfect completion in Christ, and none but Christ, do amount to a divine testimony. Such was the coming of the angel to Mary the mother of Christ, and to Elizabeth[e] the mother of John Baptist, in the New Testament, as also the star which lighted the wise men of the East unto Him, and of which the heathens themselves

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have affirmed[f], not only that it was a special star that never before appeared in the heaven, but also that it had a portentous significancy, "pointing at the descent of a venerable God, for the salvation of men, and the good of mortals." So again that of the miracles wrought by Christ and His Apostles, which are another kind of God's speaking to us in men, and upon earth, particularly that of raising the dead, and are by the Apostles styled, what in reason they are, demonstrations and testifications of God Himself. But above all His own resurrection out of the grave, after He had been crucified by them. God by thus raising Him is said, most truly according to the dictates of reason, to have given to all men faith[g], i. e. an argument of full conviction, that He was what He pretended to be, and so to set Him out as the person to be believed on[h], being powerfully and determinately pointed out by that great act[i], to be the Son of God. But because all of these would much lengthen this discourse above the designed proportion, and because each of them is largely insisted on by others, and because no testimony is ordinarily deemed more authentic than that 'audible voice,' I shall therefore choose principally to insist on that one ordinary way of God's testifying to men, known to the Jews by the title of בת קול, 'the daughter of voice,' or of 'thunder,' i. e. a revelation from heaven delivered in, or coming out of the midst of thunder, which, say the Jews, was the special way of God's revealing Himself under the second temple.

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CHAP. I.

Him," i. e. descending, as a dove descends upon any thing, visibly hovering and lighting on Him, "and behold, a voice out of the heavens saying," i. e. as the heavens parted asunder, a clap of thunder came out, and with it a voice delivering these words, "This is My beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased," i. e. this is My Son whom I have sent; His coming to the world and His undertaking is perfectly agreeable to, and hath its original wholly from, My will. From which testimony of God's it is consequent, that whatsoever He teaches comes from God, and is to be embraced as that which is perfectly His will and law. And it is observable that in one of the old prophecies of the Messiah, where it is foretold that "God's spirit shall descend upon Him," it is affirmed almost in the very words which were here said to come out of the thunder, that "this was God's beloved, in whom His soul," i. e. He, "was well pleased."

[Isa. xlii. 1.]

8. So again a second time, in the presence of three sober men, which was the number by which the weightiest matters were authentically testified, Peter, and James, and John, being all with Him in a mountain, "Behold a lightsome cloud overshadowed them, and a voice out of the cloud, saying, This is My beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased: hear Him;" giving an unquestioned authority to all that should ever come from Him after.

[Matt.xvii. 5.]

9. Thirdly, at a time not long before His death, when He was a praying to His Father to glorify His name, "A voice came from heaven, saying, I have both glorified it, and will glorify it again." And of them that "stood by, some said that it thundered; others, that it was an angel that spake to Him." From both which it is easily concluded, that God, whether by or without the ministry of an angel, was heard to speak to Him out of the thunder.

[John xii. 28, 29.]

[And this promised beforehand.]

10. What was thus done personally to Christ, was with some small variation promised, and so by John Baptist first foretold, that it should be performed after His departure to His Apostles or disciples, who were to preach His doctrine, and what they knew of Him, after His going out of this world: and accordingly, in the very manner which was foretold, it came to pass, and all other things foretold by Him did punctually follow. For as "they were all together, there was

[Acts ii. 12.]

suddenly a noise from heaven, as of a violent wind, and filled the whole house where they sate." And so this (styled the "baptizing them with the Holy Ghost," i. e. receiving them with a far higher ceremony than that of baptism, viz., with a shining glorious descent of the Spirit of God upon them) did at once give them their commission from heaven, and was a testimony of God Himself, that what they should teach from Christ was the very doctrine which God required to be embraced by the world. Acts i. 5.

11. And of this sort there was yet further one most eminent passage. A known and eminent Jew, one Saul, who by his sect, a pharisee, and by his extraordinary warmth and zeal to the Jewish law in opposition to Christianity, had interested himself professedly in the persecuting of it, had a principal hand in the putting St. Stephen to death, as appears by the witnesses "laying their garments at his feet," and was engaged in a most vehement bloody design against the Christians in Damascus, and having gotten letters of commission from the high-priest to that purpose, was now very rageful upon his way thither: this man, thus "breathing out threatenings and slaughters against the Church," and as he was close to Damascus, his journey's end, on a sudden a "light from heaven shone about him," like lightning flashing about his ears; and "falling to the ground," by that means he heard a voice saying to him, "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou Me?" in words so convincingly delivered that he knew assuredly that it was God that by an angel thus appeared and spake to him: and thereupon he gave answer immediately, "Who art Thou, Lord?" The voice replied, "I am Jesus whom thou persecutest," with the addition of other words, which struck him into such a horror, that immediately trembling, and in an agony of passion, he said, "Lord, what wilt Thou have me to do?" and was again answered what he should do, "Go unto the city," and there he should receive particular directions. Which accordingly happened, and this person became immediately a prime Apostle, or preacher of Christianity. This thing was not done privately, but every circumstance of the story was publicly known at that time: his letters from the high-priest were known to the Sanhedrim; and before he came to Damascus

[A further instance in Saul's conversion.]

Acts vii. 58.

Acts ix. 1.

CHAP. I.

the news of them was come thither, so far that Ananias, a Christian there, that in a vision from God was bid to go to him in such an house, made this objection against obeying the command, that this was the man that had done so much mischief, and was now come with such a commission to apprehend all that "professed the worship of Christ" in that place. And besides, there was company with him on the way when the prodigy befel him, and all they "heard the voice," and "saw nobody." It is true indeed, that in one relation of that passage, it is said, that they "heard not the voice." But that, as all other seeming contradictions of the Scripture, is easily salved, by observing that the word קול in Hebrew, which signifies 'a voice,' signifies 'thunder' also, as Heb. xii. 26, "Whose voice," i. e. thunder, "shaketh the earth;" and so very often. And so where it is said, that "they heard the voice," the sense is, that they "heard the thunder," which was joined with the lightning that flashed about him: and when it is said, "they heard not the voice," it is expressed in the place what is meant by it, "they heard not the voice of Him that spake to him," i. e. the voice of Christ immediately appearing from heaven, and calling unto him, "Saul, Saul," &c., but only saw the lightning, and heard the thunder: but what was said to him, he only heard that was concerned in it; but by the effects, his answers, and consequent charge, they easily discerned that also, though they heard it not. This story did this man always avow as a notorious truth, whensoever he was called in question by Jews or Romans for preaching Christ; and there was never any question made of the truth of it. And this went for his commission to be an Apostle of Christ; and he never sought for any other; and after doing more service in the Church than all the rest of Christ's own regularly chosen and designed Apostles, he at last laid down his life for the testimony of that truth which before this he had so sharply persecuted.

Acts ix. 7.

Acts xxii. 9.

[Also a vision to Cornelius and St. Peter.]

12. This is not all yet; for at the beginning of the diffusion of the gospel to the gentile world, and for the declaring of God's will in that particular, there was not only a vision to Cornelius, and an ecstacy and an audible voice from heaven to St. Peter, in these words, "Arise, Peter, kill and eat;"

[Acts x. 13.]

the obscurity of which words, and of the representation to which they belonged, was presently interpreted by the effect: but beyond both these, it follows, that at the preaching of Peter to Cornelius and the rest of his company of gentile believers, "the Holy Ghost fell on all that heard the word," Acts x. 44. i. e. probably came down upon them in some way of visible appearance, the like as before had befallen the Apostles; or See Acts xv. 8; xi. 15, 17. if not so, yet in such manner as evidenced itself by giving them power of "speaking strange languages," and other gifts and graces, fitting them for several conditions in the Church. And this was seen by the Jews, that were very far from being inclinable to believe such a thing of gentiles, and being convinced by the evidence were astonished at it, Acts x. 45. rapt with admiration at the strangeness, but no way doubting the truth of it. And it so fell out, that Peter afterwards being called in question by other Jews for what he had then done in preaching to gentiles, which they thought utterly unlawful, by this relation of the descent of the Holy Ghost Acts xi. 15, 18. upon those gentiles, he satisfied them; which sure he could not have done if there had remained any doubt of the truth of it. And the same fell out again to the Ephesian disciples, Acts xix. 6. and the truth that it did so was evidenced by their "speaking all strange languages," which they had never learned, "and prophesying." Two gifts which were so constant consequents of that coming of the Holy Ghost on any, that they testified it convincingly to those that had no evidence of the fact. [Gifts of the Holy Ghost.]

13. The propriety of this descent to this turn, and to that other grand one of giving commissions, and authorizing, and so testifying the truth of all that should be taught by them on whom the Spirit thus descended, may perhaps be better understood by remembering the customs appointed by God among the Jews. Those that were among them called to be prophets out of their schools were assumed and consecrated to it by anointing, a ceremony of advancing to some eminent office; and therefore the Chaldee paraphrase for 'unction' reads ordinarily רבא, 'advancement.' Now for many years before this coming of Christ, prophecy had failed among the Jews. And they have an ancient saying, that after the age of the prophets succeeded the age of the scribes, i. e. of those who although they were brought up in the schools of the prophets, yet obtained not the spirit or mission of pro- [Illustrated by customs among the Jews.]

CHAP. I.

phets. Such as Ezra, &c. And under the second temple, say they, there was no 'oil,' nor any way of revelation, save only that of the voice from heaven[k]. Now, therefore, when God was thus pleased to send His Son to reveal His complete will unto the world, and from Him to continue the same by His Apostles and others after Him; instead of that solemn ceremony of unction is this visible descent of the Holy Ghost on Him and on them in a shining fiery cloud, and with it these words of consecration to Christ,

[k] [Enumerant enim Hebræi aliquot species seu] gradus revelationis divinæ [nempe has נבואה] Nevuah, [id est] Prophetia [cum scilicet Deus] per [quasdam] visiones et spectra [prophetis quibusdam sua arcana revelaret; רוח הקדש, id est] afflatus Spiritus sancti qui erat sine visionibus et spectris ut in [Hiobe,] Davide et aliis; Urim et Thummim quæ erant in pectorali judicii [ut jam commemoravi;] et בת קול Bath Kol, id est vox quæ cœlitus audiebatur, et illa in usu erat durante templo secundo, [præludium et significatio quædam veræ illius vocis divinæ ac cœlestis jamjam orbi imminentis ac revelandæ, quæ scilicet erat Jesus Christus dominus noster ac servator. Cui et Bath Kol vox illa cœlestis testimonium dabat dicens, *Hic est filius meus dilectus in quo mihi bene complacitum est.*—Matt. iv. et xvii, item Joan. xii. Venit ergo vox de cœlo dicens, *et illustravi, et rursus illustrabo.* Dicebatur autem illa vox hebraice Bath Kol quod ad verbum sonat filia vocis, eo quod ipsa non erat vera illa vox cœlestis sed typus solummodo, significatio et testimonium veræ illius vocis quæ Christus est, quæ jam debet audiri juxta illud *ipsum audite.*]—P. Fagius in Targum Pentat. Exod. [cap. xxviii.]

[Sed placet etiam huc afferre quæ et profani auctores de illis rebus habent, maxime Josephus et Suidas. Josephus libro iii. Antiquitatum cap. 12. ita scribit. Lapides autem quos ferre super humerum prædixi pontificem, erant Sardoniches. Eorum puto naturam amplius omnium ad humanam notitiam venientium effulgere, Deus ergo et sacrificiis dum adesset, alter qui in dextro humero portabatur micabat et ex eo splendor ita exsiliebat, ut etiam procul positis appareret cum prius hoc lapidi non inesset. Et hoc utique mirabile est, his tamen qui sapientiam non adjectione divinorum operum, nanciscuntur. Quod vero mirabilius est dicam. Per duodecim enim lapides quos supra pectus pontifex in hoschen sutos, id est rationali portat, victoriam pugnaturis Deus prænuntiabat. Tantus enim splendor fulgebat in eis cum nondum exercitus moveretur, ut omni fieret multitudini manifestum eorum auxiliis adesse Deum. Unde Græci qui nostras solennitates honorant eo quod nihil in his contradicere valeant Hoschen rationale vocant.] Cessavit itaque et Hoschen et Sardonix splendescere annis ducentis antequam hæc ego conscriberem, cum Deus moleste ferret transgressiones legum. [Hactenus] Josephus. [Suidas ex incerto quodam auctore hæc refert. Ephod inquit nomen est Hebræum quod si interpreteris significat manifestationem aut redemptionem. (Vides autem eum auctorem ex quo Suidas hæc exscripsit Hebrææ linguæ ignarum fuisse. Ephod enim longe aliud significat. Fortassis pro Ephod dicere voluit Hoschen.) Erat autem forma ejus, textura palmaris vario artificio, instar pectoralis ex aureis filis confecta. Ac in medio habebat quasi stellam omnino auream, ex utraque autem parte duos smaragdos, in quorum unoquoque sculpta erant sex nomina videlicet duodecim nomina tribuum Israel. Porro inter smaragdos continebat lapidem adamantem. Cum ergo sacerdos sciscitaturus erat de re quadam oraculum a Deo, ligabat Ephod in superhumerali ad medium pectoris et subjiciebat manus suas sub ipsum, quas cum retraheret, deprehendebat eas quasi colore quodam infectos. Petebat autem a Deo responsum defixis in Ephod oculis. Itaque si Deus annuebat ad id quod petebatur, confestim micabat lapis adamas; si autem negabat, nihil ad pristinum et proprium lapidis fulgorem accedebat. Quod si Deus voluit populum objicere gladio lapis reddebatur cruentus, si autem imminebat mors lapis fiebat niger. Hactenus] Suidas.—[Id. Ib.]

"This is My beloved Son," &c.; and in lieu of that voice, the gift of tongues to the Apostles and others. This was foretold by one of the Jewish prophets long before, that "the Lord should anoint Him to preach," and that the "Spirit of the Lord should be upon Him," i. e. that He should be anointed, i. e. ordained, to this office of preaching God's will, not by material oil, but spiritual unction, by the real descent of the Spirit of God upon Him. And accordingly one of His disciples, St. John, being to confute a sort of antichristian heretics of his time, which denied Christ to be come really in the flesh, useth no other argument to fortify them to whom he writes, but only the mention of this testimony from heaven, this descent on Christ and the Apostles, and others who had instructed them in Christianity; which he veils under the title of the unction, viz., that unction vulgarly known among them by that name; "the unction from the Holy One," as he calls it, i. e. from God in heaven, by which, as by their teachers it had been communicated to them, they "knew all things," i. e. were sure that the doctrine they had been taught was true, "and needed not to be taught by any," i. e. wanted no more arguments to confirm this truth unto them; that unction, as he further adds, "teaching them of all," i. e. giving them sufficient instructions in that matter, and in all other such fundamental truths of the Christian doctrine, testified to them by those who had been thus anointed immediately from heaven, authorized to teach them truth. This same again, as far as concerned Christ, is by another evangelical writer joined with His working of miracles, and called "God's anointing Him with the Holy Ghost and with power," as in another place "God's anointing Him," alone, which is directly the same with that other phrase used by St. Paul, the "demonstration of the Spirit, and of power," the descent of the Spirit, and working of miracles: the two things which he urged to the Jews or heathens wheresoever he preached, as things which he was sure they could no more contradict than demonstrations themselves, there being so many then alive that could witness the truth of them. In which respect, he after tells them of God's having confirmed them into Christ, and anointed and sealed them; all in the same sense, to signify God's having afforded them

[Matt. iii. 17; xvii. 5.] [Isa. lxi. 1.]

[This used as an argument by St. John.]

1 John ii. 20.

Acts x. 38. Acts iv. 27.

1 Cor. ii. 4.

CHAP. I.

these convincing testimonies of the truth of Christianity, preached to them by those on whom the Holy Ghost had descended, and who wrought miracles among them.

[And is a competent mode of confirming the doctrine of Christ.]

14. That this was a very competent confirmation of the doctrine of Christ, may yet further appear by considering, first, the persons to whom this was to be done, the then Church of God, the people of the Jews, which were acquainted with His voices, and His prophets, and His economies formerly among them: secondly, the matter that was thus to be confirmed, no greater change than to which this way of attestation may in reason be deemed abundantly proportionable. For the things to be believed,—only the real completion of some things which had been before foretold, and the revealing some truths which had been more obscurely represented in the Old Testament; and then those, how high and mysterious soever, yet being clearly revealed by Christ and the Apostles in the New, and the explicit belief of them no further required of any than in proportion to the degree of the revelation of them,—the revealing of them must be looked on as the satisfying of an appetite, a desire of more knowledge, which is naturally in all men, and is sharpened by the having received some imperfect rays of it, and consequently should not in reason be expected to be attested with such a pomp of signs and prodigies, as impositions of tasks and exactings of obediences are wont to be. Then for the things to be done in Christianity, the duties and observances;—it is again considerable, that the change in that respect was not such as would denominate it a new religion, but only the reforming and perfecting that which was before received among the Jews, and the making it more tolerable and easy to be received by other parts of the gentile world. The worship of the one true God, Creator of heaven and earth, contrary to the false worships of the many gods and idols of the heathens, and to all the unnatural lusts attending them, had been sufficiently testified to the nation of the Jews by many voices from heaven, and undeniable attestations of God Himself, (and indeed to other nations by the fearful, miraculous judgments shewn in Egypt, and on the Canaanites, under the conduct of Moses and Joshua, &c.,) and by God's continual residing among that people, and His attesting that by the Urim and Thummim, by the several

prophets sent by Him, and the other ways of revelations. And to those that granted all this it was foretold, so often that no Jew doubted of it, that there should come days of reformation, that there should come a Messias. This was long ago promised through all passages of their story: to Adam under the title of "the seed of the woman;" to Sem, that "God should dwell or pitch His tabernacle in the tents of Sem," take flesh upon Him in his family; to Abraham, to Judah, to David, and all along through the writings of their prophets. Concerning this Messias their carnal hearts had pre-conceived some mistakes, as that He should be a glorious King here, and make them again, after their being subdued by the Romans, a most victorious, glorious people on earth, and this howsoever they demeaned themselves, only by the privilege of having Abraham, to whom great promises were made, to their father. At last this Messias, otherwise described by their prophets, as one that should come in a mean and lowly manner, no way desirable to the eye of the world, comes just as He had been foretold, a forerunner being sent before Him, on purpose to prepare His way, to dispossess them of their fond persuasions of their absolute election by having Abraham to their father, and pointing Him out particularly as the 'Son of God,' the Messias that was now to be received, as He had been so greedily and so long expected, by them. This forerunner that thus foretold, and after pointed Him out, was, as they that crucified Christ confess, by all the Jews taken for a prophet. And moreover to this testimony of this acknowledged prophet, comes in the addition of the miraculous descent of the Holy Spirit, and the voice from heaven, and all that hath been mentioned consequent to that. And to those among whom this had always been acknowledged an authentic way of attesting God's will, nothing could be more required but this. Christ then, or God Himself in human nature, assumed of a Virgin, and born after a supernatural manner, when He came to thirty years old, the age of a doctor among that people, sets to this business which it was foretold He should perform, tells them how the former law was to be reformed, and especially their former lives, from external observances to internal

[Gen. iii. 15; ix. 27.]

[Isa. liii. 1, sqq.]

Matt. xxi. 26.

CHAP. I.

purities, and how to be filled up and perfected in some particulars; and then lightly changes some ceremonies customary among them, and accommodates them to present use, removes the wall of division which had been between them and all the rest of the world, shews them that that was meant only to keep them from imitating the heathens' sins, and now that there was more need that heathens and they should love one another, and join to reform both their lives, and practise Christian virtues, than keep that supercilious distance from one another; and in a word, He brings the whole matter to such a model, as all other men but the Jews like extremely better than that which was before among them, and consequently, come in in shoals at the preaching of it: and the Jews that do not so, acknowledge the only reason why they do not, to be their zeal to their law of outward performances, and the persuasion of their absolute election; that is, in effect, that they had no other quarrel to Him, but only that He did not teach the doctrines that they liked and were before imbued with, which if He had, He had by that very means done contrary to the prophecies by them allowed of, which foretold He should work a reformation. Upon these unreasonable terms they crucify Him: and by their doing so, more wonderful attestations yet are given to all this. In His very death the sun is miraculously eclipsed, at a time of the moon when by nature it was absolutely impossible, and so far against all rules of astronomy, that learned men in other places took notice of it to be a violence done to nature, which must signify some great matter. Then a prodigy befalls the temple, and that a very significant one. Then the bodies of many dead men arise and go to Jerusalem, and are seen by many. But above all, He Himself riseth from the dead, and angels again are sent to give notice of it: and those that at His death had feared themselves deluded (as adversity is a great temptation, and by Christ Himself foretold to be so) are every one of them confirmed by seeing, touching, talking with Him: and what is seen and testified by them, was "seen" also by "five hundred persons at once," which lived many years to attest the truth to all that doubted it. And at length, which was the most im-

[1 Cor. xv. 6.]

mediate testification of the truth of all the former, He is bodily and visibly taken up into heaven, before their eyes.

15. When that was done, there was but one imaginable method behind, that, according as He had promised while He was upon earth, He should, being Himself departed, 'send the Paraclete,' which by descending visibly upon the Apostles, and by endowing them with the gift of doing miracles, and of speaking of all languages, which they were known never to have learnt, should enable them to convince the world, by the testimony of Christ's resurrection and ascension, and destroying of Satan by His death, (the most improbable means of working victories,) that He was the Messias foretold, that "seed of the woman" that should "break the serpent's head." On strength of this, they which so lately doubted, now cheerfully lay down their lives in testifying of all these truths: and those Jews that did not yet believe on Him were, according to His distinct predictions many times repeated, they, their temple in which they trusted, their city, their whole nation, and infinite multitudes of them, wheresoever they were found, most stupendously destroyed by the Roman eagles or legions. All this, thus hastily put together, so as necessarily to omit many weighty circumstances under every head, is sure prodigy enough to attest and authorize no greater a change than the clearer revelation of some obscurer truths, the confutation of some false doctrines, and the reformation of some ceremonies, and the perfecting and heightening of some laws less perfect before, and the instituting of a few useful ceremonies instead of many burdensome ones, can be thought to amount to.

[John xiv. 16, 26.]

[Gen. iii. 15.]

16. The first ground of believing Christianity being thus mentioned, is not capable of any dispute from any reasonable man, unless from him which shall question whether this be not fabulous in the relation; i. e. whether first there were ever indeed heard such voices; or secondly, whether they were not delusions of the hearers, or at least the voice of some other, and not of God. And to him that shall make the former scruple I shall be able to give as satisfactory an answer as is possible to be given of a matter of this nature, of any the lightest or weightiest consequence; to a matter of this nature, I say, i. e. of a matter of fact, (for such it

[Question about the fact related.]

CHAP. I.

must needs be, that such a voice was heard from heaven,) and that fact past so many hundred years ago. For first, that fact was of necessity to be confined to some determinate time and place, to be done somewhere, and why not in Judea, where it is said to be done? to be seen by some particular men, and by them of necessity, if it were to be known, to be attested to others: nay, if it had been done so as to be heard and seen by the whole world then living, (though that this should point out that one person Jesus, would not be well reconcileable with that, because His body could not be in every place,) yet could not the next age come to know this, but must be forced to make use of the attestation of men of that age to reveal it to them, and so proceed by the very way that now is allowed us, that of faith or believing. For secondly, should there at this hour come the like voice from heaven, in the hearing of any the most credible honest men of this age, what way would be expected to convince the ages to come, who should not be present to hear it, of the truth of this, but by the constant affirmation of those who are now ear-witnesses of it, and by their committing all this to writing now, so that all that should now live, and suspect, or believe it a forgery, might be able to examine and discover the truth of it; especially, if to that they should join the doing of the greatest miracles, which coming only from God, cannot be convinced to be by Him allowed to assist the bringing a lie into the world.

[Which is authenticated in the only rational way.]

17. Beyond such testimony of eye or ear-witnesses thus publicly and authoritatively protested, and conveyed to posterity, there is no rational evidence imaginable for those that lived not in that age; nor do men at any time exact or require any more authentic proof of matter of fact or ground of believing any thing. For as to the voice of God again from heaven, (which alone can pretend to be above this,) this is not at all commodious to this turn; for this were for God to multiply prodigies improperly and unseasonably, (it is sure unnecessarily,) and to all that were not present this would be again as questionable as the former.

18. For the testifying a high important truth, which cannot otherwise be known, God hath been pleased thus personally to interpose His own power and authority, and to speak

from heaven, yea, and to repeat that again and again, that there may no matter of doubt remain concerning it: but when that hath been thus done by God sufficiently, then are there sufficient human means to convey the truth or history of this fact to other men, viz., the testimony of those that saw or heard it. And as it were ridiculous to suppose or expect from God, that He should testify from heaven that such men did hear that former voice from heaven; so the same law of God and nature which forbids lying as sinful, forbids also incredulity as irrational, when a thing is by unsuspected witnesses, upon certain knowledge, with so many improvements and advantages thus sufficiently testified. And if God upon man's several incredulities should be still obliged to give witness to His truths by His own voice, then should He cut off that rule for belief, which in all other things, agreeably to the dictates of reasonable nature, He hath made standing among men. And in this case to require any higher testimony, were the same inconvenient absurdity as not to believe any thing upon any other ground than that of sight,—which is indeed to mistake knowledge for belief, or evidence for adherence, and must necessarily leave nothing of virtue rewardable in that faith which is so violently and unavoidably produced,—or to expect a voice from heaven to give me daily assurance of all the passages or relations of history, and not to believe that there was such a man as Alexander, or Cæsar, or William the Conqueror, or Elizabeth the late, but before our birth, queen of this kingdom, unless some 'voice of God from heaven' attest it to me.

[Not reasonable to expect continued evidence by miracles.]

19. They that cannot believe at any cheaper rate than of a new minutely prodigy from heaven,—for every act of believing, a prodigy from heaven,—or, more plainly, they that will not believe any thing but what they know, must be fed also as well as taught by miracle, or else must be obliged to abstinence, greater than any man inflicts upon himself, by continuing constant to that principle. For no man hath demonstration, or infallibility, or evidence, for his safety in any bit of meat that he eats, or the firmness of any floor he stands on; it being always possible, that what doth most nourish and sustain, might by some poisonous mixture smite

CHAP. I.

and destroy; that the roof that covers and protects might minutely overwhelm and bury us: yet are we not such hypochondriacs in these matters of daily use,—and in them that are, it is interpreted an eminent defect or decay of reason, and not a higher pitch of it,—as to deprive ourselves of the benefit of food and raiment upon consideration of these remote possible dangers, nor to fear all things, but what we know infallibly.

20. And if it shall be said that eating is necessary for the preservation of life, and that that consideration makes it reasonable to trust on those grounds, because by distrusting we should subject ourselves to a certainty of that whereof the other is at most but an hazard; I answer, first, that this instance was produced only to shew that we think it reasonable, without fear or doubt, to rely on some things for which we have no demonstration or knowledge of the impossibility of the contrary; and that is still proved by this instance, though it be granted that eating is necessary; because if the necessity of eating were the cause that made men venture that hazard, they should never venture it till they were necessarily to starve without it; and when they did so, they should do it with continual doubt, and fear of the possible danger: neither of which are thought rational, nor practised by considering men. And secondly, the interpretation of 'being fed' in the instance, was 'the whole course of men in feeding,' which is not the proportioning of food to the necessities of life, or the Lessian or Cornarian diet, but the free manner of feeding among men, such as was paralleled to the standing on a floor that might possibly fall, that is, being in an upper room; which being not at all necessary to life, and withal possible in nature that it shall minutely be our death, is yet made use of among all wise men with as much confidence and fearlessness as it is expected of us that we should believe the gospel.

[Illustrated by men's conduct in worldly affairs.]

21. This may be enlarged to the several businesses of the world, wherein all men act most confidently; to that of trafficking and trading, and all kinds of merchandising, which are really mixed with not improbable hazards: the whole life of the husbandman is a continual example of those that think fit to adhere and believe and act accord-

ingly, without having received any demonstration. And none of all these are ever counted irrational, even by those who have fixed no thoughts beyond this life, and the thriving and prospering in it, and who consequently are to lose their chief and only good if it should miscarry, and who in all things of that nature are generally as rational and wary, and hard to believe without securities, as the wisest men in the world.

22. And if we will in the business in hand (the believing of the Apostles' relations concerning those testimonies given Christ from heaven, wherein we have infinitely stronger grounds to build our faith on, securities and convictions incomparably more pregnant and vehement) allow it reasonable for us to do that once, which in all other things we do confidently every minute of our lives, viz., believe what we have all reason to believe, without exacting of evidence or demonstration, there will be no more required of us in this matter.

23. That this is directly the case in hand, and, over and above this, that the testifying of the gospel hath all imaginable advantages, will appear by a bare application of the particulars.

24. The voices from heaven concerning Christ are testified by the joint concurrence of all that were present at them, no one finding any cause of scruple or interposing any doubt concerning them. Those very persons, with the addition of many more, are allowed the favour of seeing Him after His resurrection, of using all the most infallible means of securing themselves and others of the reality of this. Being thus assured, they make it the business of their whole lives after to communicate it to others, some in writings, all in preaching through all parts of the world, whither they travelled on purpose to propagate this truth, agreeing in the whole matter of story, and in every circumstance of it. The truth of what they say they again back with miracles on one side, with completion of predictions, both of the prophets of old concerning Christ, and of Christ concerning them and the succeeding ages, especially that concerning His speedy coming in vengeance against His crucifiers, on the other side: both testimonies of God, to authorize their testi-

[The amount of the testimony.]

CHAP. I.

monies. In propagating this doctrine as they use not strength or force, which hath been the engine by which all other religions have received their growth, so they never endeavour to disturb states or government for or by the planting this doctrine, but always preach subjection to the powers which are any where established, and without all resistance profess, and by their actions demonstrate, themselves obliged to suffer whatsoever their lawful magistrates inflict on them, and contend only with their prayers to God, that they may live quietly and peaceably under them, having still their cross in their hands, and many times on their shoulders, to follow Christ. And if this were not sufficient to prevent, or to satisfy the jealousies of heathen princes, yet upon that very account it is the greater testimony of the truth of their doctrine, when they that propagate it are so far from designing any temporal advantages to themselves, which might bribe them to the deposing an untruth, that they actually part with their very lives, and consequently with all capacity of those possible advantages, and acquire nothing but reproaches, and torments, and death itself: and all this without any other imaginable reward or payment in commutation or reparation for all this, save only the future expectation of that for which they yet had no further assurance than the truth of that which they thus confessed: nay, yet further, when they have given this costly testimony to this truth, God again bears testimony to them, and by miracles wrought at their monuments, "being dead, they yet speak."

[Heb. xi. 4.]

25. That all this is thus true, is again itself testified, not only by records still extant under their hands who wrote the Gospels and the Acts, and by footsteps and remainders of all others' preaching, wheresoever they taught, but also by the like consent of the whole Church, i. e. whole multitudes of that age wherein this is pretended to be written and taught, who being convinced with the truth of what we now enquire after, readily gave up their names to the belief of it, and to the consequent confession of Christ, though the doing it did in like manner cost them very dear, the parting with their espoused customs of living, whether

among the Jewish or Gentile world, their pleasures, their worldly wealth, and oft-times their lives also.

26. Beyond all this, the success which attended it had so much of strangeness in it,—viz., that from such mean and simple beginnings and instruments, without any kind of power or earthly authority to back it, without one sword ever drawn in defence of it, Christianity should soon obtain such a victory over the hearts of men in so great a part of the world,—that nothing but truth, which hath that overruling force in it, can be deemed to have been its champion.

27. Lastly, that these are the writings, those the tradition of those eye-witnesses whose they pretend to be, and that they were by such shoals, such multitudes of men of all nations believed then, and that belief signed by the blood of many, by the hazards and adventures of most, by the professed non-resistance of all, this is as fully testified to us as any matter of fact can be supposed to be, by the concurrent testimonies of all of that age which say any thing of it, and by a general successive attestation of all intervening ages since that time, (the authority[j] of those writings being never contested by any,) i. e. by the same means of probation upon which we believe those things which we least doubt of, and against which men cannot feign any sound or show of proof, save only that testimonies are not demonstrations; which exception will in like manner be in a like or far greater force against all other things which we believe most confidently.

[Question about the delusion of the hearers.]

28. I am not willing to leave any possible scruple unsatisfied in this matter, and therefore I shall proceed to that other bolder objection still behind, that that which is pretended to be the voice of God, may not have been such, but some delusion of the hearers, or at least the voice of some other, and not of God; as the devil in the oracle delivered himself by voice: and therefore though it be confessed, that if this voice were God's, it is infallibly creditable, yet there will need some certain way of discrimination to assure it was

j Among the ὁμολογούμενα, the confessed writings of Scriptures, attested by all, and not ἀντιλεγόμενα, contradicted by any, τακτέον ἐν πρώτοις τὴν ἁγίαν τῶν εὐαγγελίων τετρακτύν, οἷς ἕπεται ἡ τῶν πράξεων τῶν Ἀποστόλων γραφή. Euseb. Eccles. Hist., lib. iii. cap. 25. The four Gospels are first to be placed, and then the story of the Acts of the Apostles.

CHAP. I.

His. To this I answer, that the person whose objection this may be supposed to be, is either a bare theist, that acknowledges a God, but not the God of Israel; or else he that acknowledges what the Jew did, the truth of the Old Testament. I shall reply somewhat to each of these.

[Objection of the theist.]

29. To the former, that if this way of objecting would be of force, there could be no way for God to reveal Himself to man; veracity would be an empty attribute of God, of no signification to us. For it is not imaginable that there should be any greater assurance of God's speaking to men, than by the heavens opening, and from thence the Spirit of God descending visibly, and lighting on one, and out of the clouds a voice delivered: whatsoever else can be imagined or named will not be above this. And if all the ways that God can use be not able to give assurance that it is God that speaks, what are we the nearer for knowing that God cannot lie, as long as there is supposed for us no way to know what at any time He saith? nay, to what use, as to this particular, is His omnipotence, if He cannot reveal Himself to us in such a way that may be reasonable for us to believe to be His, and not some deceiver's voice? Nay, in this God shall not be able to do so much as any ordinary man; for He can so reveal Himself, or speak, as no man that is present, and doth not stop his ears, shall be able to doubt of his speaking.

[Objection of the Jew.]

30. To the second sort of objectors I answer, that the objection will lose all its seeming force, if it be remembered, that although now among us voices from heaven are not heard, (and therefore we are not at this distance so competent judges of the clearness or certainty that such, when they were, were not delusions, and accordingly the assent required of us of this age is but proportionable to the ground of belief which we enjoy,) yet among that people of the Jews this was very ordinary. God's law was given to Moses in that manner, and God led that people by a pillar of cloud and fire, which was answerable to this: and in after-times, under the second temple, they confess this the only way of God's revealing Himself to them. And therefore in this very matter it was allowed and pleaded by some prime men of that people, that if the Spirit, or an angel, had spoken

to Paul, the resisting him would be a fighting against God; and hereupon, they confessed, that they "found no harm in him:" that God had thus spoken to him, those men then thought probable, but did not avow the knowing it certainly, having no present evidence of the fact, save only the affirmation of Paul himself at that time. But had they had evidence of the fact by being present at it,—as they that testify the voice to Christ were eye and ear-witnesses of it,—they would not then have thought it reasonable to make any further question, whether that which they call the voice of the Spirit, or an angel, were such or no, and being such, whether the resisting what was spoken by it were the fighting against God. For the testifying therefore of the truth of such pretended facts, and indeed to leave no place for rational doubt in this matter, there is yet a further answer, that the power of miracles, and the gifts of tongues that attended these voices and descents of the Holy Ghost from heaven, were irrefragable testimonies and evidences of the reality of them, and could not be the immediate effects of delusions, being such as could not be wrought by the power of the devil, nor ever were pretended the effects of his oracular responses.

[Acts xxiii. 9.]

31. Many other ways of discrimination there are by which the voices of the devil, or delusions magical, might be distinguished from divine, as that of concordance with predictions acknowledged to have come from God; and such was the voice that was delivered at the descent of the Spirit upon Christ, the same that was foretold by the prophet, and by him joined with the mention of the descent of God's Spirit upon Him. And to the same belongs also the completion of the so many other things in Him, which had certainly been foretold of the Messias; which concordance with divine truth is most diametrically contrary to delusion. And besides, of the miracles which He did, most were to dispossess, and cast out devils, (to restore health, as they brought diseases,) who consequently look on Him as, and proclaim Him their enemy: and although this may be thought to be done by them for some greater advantage, as the devil may suffer one charm to counterwork another, yet could they not here be thought to have used those endeavours

[Mode of distinguishing real and delusive voices.]

CHAP. I. His. To this I answer, th
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CHAP. I.

to raise Christ into that power of destroying them, or to assist their utmost to give Him an authority in the world. Indeed the whole doctrine of Christ was so directly contrary to that which had been maintained by the oracles, that it cannot be imagined to proceed from that principle to which they pretend. And the story is approved by Plutarch[k], (and the effect hath made it not improbable, that there was some truth in it,) that about Christ's time a voice was heard on the sea, that "the great god Pan was dead," and a huge bellowing and roaring, as of infernal mourners, following it: and that this was probably the cause, acknowledgedly the forerunner of the devil's silence, and never speaking in the oracles any more.

32. As for the manner of the devil's giving his responses in the oracle, it is confessed by all that then lived and knew them, that they were delivered constantly by a man, who was seen when he did it, and was called the ὑποφήτης, one that 'spake under the oracle,' out of the caverns of the earth, by the vapour of which Plutarch conceived him inspired, and so turned enthusiast, which is a far different thing from a voice (no man being seen) which came in a clap of thunder, with a bright shining cloud from heaven. This may reasonably satisfy the importunity of that objection also.

33. And so much for the first part of the ground of our faith in gross, the testimony on which it is built, which being an infallible word, derived and conveyed to us by the most creditable means, and which we have no temptation from reason to doubt of, may sure be concluded a rational ground of belief.

CHAP. II.

A DIGRESSION CONCERNING THE USE OF REASON IN DECIDING CONTROVERSIES IN RELIGION.

1. HAVING proceeded thus far for the convincing of the gainsayer, it may not be amiss to consider the believer a while, and give him the bounds or limits within which reason

[k] [Plutarch., de Orac. defectu, tom. ii. p. 419.]

is obliged to contain itself in matters of faith, and this even by the verdict of reason itself. And I shall do it by a brief stating of this question.

[Limits of reason in matters of faith.]

2. Whether right reason be appointed the judge of controversies. Whether all doubts of all sorts be to be determined by the dictates of nature, in the heart of every man which hath the use of reason. To this I shall ground my answer in these two rules, or postulations. 1. That

3. The measure of man's natural power of knowing or judging of things is his participating of those things, in some degree, with God, in whom they are as in the fountain: so that the man may find, and behold them in himself as truly, though not as eminently, or in the same degree, as they are in God.

For certainly, if a man, denudate of all experimental, acquired, revealed knowledge, of all foreign helps, left only to himself as a man endued with reason, should be questioned in any thing, and supposed able to express his conceptions, he would be fain to fetch out every word that he said from within him, say only what his own heart could discern within himself: otherwise he should be supposed to answer more than he had means to come to the knowledge of; the work done would be above the proportion of the means to it; the conclusion would have more in it than the premises.

From hence follows this second rule, that

4. Men are naturally able to judge only of those things which by some sure connection depend on those attributes of God which are communicated to, and particularly by, men, and are the like (as far as the adumbration or transcript is to the exemplar or pattern) for kind, though not degree, in man as in God.

[Whether reason can judge of good or bad.]

5. Now all controversies, i. e. all things subject to judgment, are reducible to two heads, goodness or truth; so that the question now is, whether right reason can infallibly judge what is good or bad, true or false. And then to this I answer, first, concerning the first head:

6. For a thing to be good morally (for metaphysical goodness is all one with truth) depends, by sure connection, from that eternal justice which is primarily in God, that being the rule, as it is the fountain, of all moral goodness in men, or

CHAP. II.

things; every thing being good, more or less, as it more or less partakes of that justice which is in God.

7. Now this being one of the attributes of God which are called communicable, it is truly affirmed, that that justice which is in God is the very same in substance communicated to men, though in a lower degree. And therefore it follows by the second rule, that man, by the light of nature and general impressions, i. e. by a power of seeing whatsoever is within his sphere, is enabled by God to judge what is just, what not, what morally good, what bad. And no man judges amiss in these things, but he that hath his judgment corrupted by some prepossession, or habitual vice, or present prevailing temptation, and therefore of moral controversies, i. e. whether a thing naturally, or in itself, be good or bad, just or not, right reason is a judge.

8. Yet this with this caution or limitation, that it be not extended to those things wherein the law of nature hath been elevated higher by any positive law of Christ. For, as right reason cannot judge what is lawful in any particular kingdom, because what nature hath made lawful, the municipal laws of that place may have forbidden and made unlawful, and that right reason cannot take notice of, unless it be told so: so in Christ's kingdom, the Church, when He hath forbidden what nature had left free and unforbidden, reason, untaught by Christ, cannot say that that is unlawful, yet generally will be found to bear that testimony to Christ, that what Christ hath superadded to the law of nature, right reason will of its own accord commend as best, or most laudable and excellent in them that do it; though, not knowing any precept for it, it will not affirm that it is necessary, so as it cannot be omitted without sin.

Then concerning the second head, I answer,

[Of true or false.]

9. That for a thing to be true, i. e. to have a being either potential or actual, depends partly on God's power, partly on His will. In respect of its potential being, it depends on His power; in respect of its actual, on His will.

10. Now God's power, though it may in some sense be said communicable to the creature, because all ability in the creature is a gleam of infinite ability in God, yet is not this so communicated as His justice or goodness was said

to be. For goodness in the creature is a kind of image truly resembling the goodness in God, and that a kind of natural image, as is the face in the glass; not a voluntary one, which hath its being from the variable will of the artificer. But power or ability in the creature is not thus a natural image of God's power, but as a reflection of a thing which voluntarily and variously casts its beams. Voluntarily, I say, because the dispensing of His power, either in manner or measure, is a free act of His will; and variously, because He doth it, first, unequally; and secondly, not so to any, but that He can, and sometimes doth, withdraw or suspend it when it is bestowed: so that I cannot say, that as that which is just in God to be done, is just to be done by the creature, so what is possible to be done by God, is possible to be done by the creature.

11. The reason of the not communicating of God's power to the creature as well as His justice, may be this, because it conduced not to the end of the creature's creation, as the other did: for though God intended to make a creature truly good and just, yet He did not, truly powerful; power indeed being in itself not a virtue, as justice is, nor in itself morally good or evil, and therefore not so agreeable to the condition of a creature, but rather indeed peculiar to the majesty of a creator.

12. From all this it follows by the said second rule, that man is not able to fathom potential truths, because power is not the same in substance in God and in the creature, and therefore by what is in the creature he is no way enabled to conceive what is in God, and so consequently to define of any potential truth; because, though it may not be wrought by any thing that is in the creature, or within his sphere of knowledge, yet it may be by God.

13. All the natural impression or light that in this behalf a rational creature hath, is, that two contradictories cannot be true at once; and therefore I think all principles that are not thought fit to be proved in any natural science, if they be truly so, may easily be resolved into this one, a thing cannot at once be and not be. And this natural impression rises not from any observation of the power communicated to the creature,—for then still it would hold, that though

CHAP. II.

man cannot do contradictories at once, yet God may,—but from a sight that this would be an effect of extreme impotency, more than is conceivable in any creature, and therefore cannot be imputed to God, who is conceived omnipotent; nor consequently to man, unless God should take away all degrees of power quite from him, and then he should be annihilated.

14. Now for actual truths already in being, which are works either mediately or immediately of God's will, our reason is no further judge of them than as God's will is communicated to us by some images or pictures of it; either substantial and real, as, when a thing done is presented to the faculty to which it is objicible, there a real image of God's will is impressed in me, (and by that I may judge distinctly,) or when it is revealed to me either from God, or from any other witness, of which in this matter I am convinced that he partakes of God's veracity, i. e. would not lie to me, and this may be called an intentional image of God's will impressed in me.

15. Thus may right reason judge of things in being, either because it is so really represented to the senses, and that is evidence; or because it is either revealed or else attested by God, which reason knows can neither err nor deceive, and this is adherence; or because such a concurrence of testimonies agrees to tell me so as I have no motive or reason to disbelieve, and this is human faith, (which may reasonably take place, until I either see somewhat or receive somewhat by an higher testimony revealed to the contrary,) which also is weaker or stronger, according to the importance of the matter, authority of the testifiers, my particular danger if I be deceived in it, &c.

Hence the conclusion is, that

[What things reason is able or not to judge of.]

16. Right reason is able to judge of all merely moral objects, whether any thing be good or bad morally; of natural objects in matter of fact, whether such a thing be done or no, by the help of the means specified, and by discourse, and analogy from things that we see are done, to judge that such another thing is possible. But of supernatural truths, such things as it never discerned in nature, either in the kind or the like, it cannot judge any further than

thus: either first, that though we cannot do it, yet, for aught we know, it is possible (nay it hath a being) with God; or secondly, that God hath affirmed it so, therefore I am sure it is; or thirdly, what comes to me from authority, that I have no reason to suspect, but, on the contrary, concurrence of all reasons to be persuaded by it; nay, there are some inward characters in the thing itself, that make me cast off all jealousy or doubt of such affirmations, and therefore I believe it is so. But generally, and *in thesi*, it is no way judge of these last kind of controversies.

17. And therefore though God, in moral actions, even in Himself, submits and appeals to man's reason, yet in these latter He derides all those that go about to judge of them by reason. And agreeably St. Paul in his preaching the gospel, for the proving the truth of Christianity, was fain, saith Origen[1], to use a peculiar way of demonstration, first, by comparing of prophecies in the Old Testament concerning Christ; secondly, by miracles: but in practical matters he appeals to that which was "written in every one's heart."

Isa. v. 3; Ezek. xviii. 25.

1 Cor. i. 20.

Rom. ii. 15.

18. To this purpose hath Eulogius an Oration against those who think to be able to comprehend the true theology of Christians, i. e. Christians' discourses concerning the persons of the Deity, by the wit or reason of man; and Photius[m] hath approved of that discourse of his, that he doth "talk of God piously and devoutly," and set "Christian divinity a pitch

[1] [λεκτέον δ' ἔτι πρὸς τοῦτο, ὅτι ἐστί τις οἰκεία ἀπόδειξις τοῦ λόγου,] θειοτέρα, παρὰ τὴν ἀπὸ διαλεκτικῆς Ἑλληνικήν· [ταύτην δὲ τὴν θειοτέραν ὁ ἀπόστολος ὀνομάζει ἀπόδειξιν πνεύματος καὶ δυνάμεως· πνεύματος μὲν, διὰ τὰς προφητείας ἱκανὰς πιστοποιῆσαι τὸν ἐντυγχάνοντα μάλιστα εἰς τὰ περὶ Χριστοῦ· δυνάμεως δὲ διὰ τὰς τεραστίους δυνάμεις ἃς κατασκευαστέον γεγονέναι καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν μὲν ἄλλων, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἴχνη δὲ αὐτῶν ἔτι σώζεσθαι παρὰ τοῖς κατὰ τὸ βούλημα τοῦ λόγου βιοῦσι.]—Orig. Cont. Cels., [lib. i. cap. 2. p. 320.]

[m] [ὁ δὲ ἐφεξῆς αὐτῷ λόγος πρὸς τοὺς οἰομένους ἀνθρωπίναις ἐπινοίαις δύνασθαι τὴν ἀληθῆ τῶν Χριστιανῶν ὑποβάλλειν θεολογιάν διαλέγεσθαι· ἐν ᾧ θεολογήσας εὐσεβῶς καὶ κρείττω πάσης ἐπιτεχνήσεως, καὶ τῆς ἐκ λόγων σοφίας τὴν παρὰ Χριστιανοῖς ἀποδειξάμενος θεολογίαν, καὶ τὸ ἐξηρημένον αὐτῆς ἀνυμνήσας, διαλαμβάνει ὡς ἐφ' ἡμῶν μὲν αἱ τῶν ἰδιωμάτων διαφόραι φανερῶς διεστήκασι, καθ' ἃς ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διακρινόμεθα, καὶ τὰ χαρακτηριστικὰ τῆς τινὸς ὑποστάσεως θατέρας οὐκ οἶδε κοινοποιεῖν ἰδιώματα, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος αἱ ἰδιότητες, ἀκίνητοι μένουσαι, συνάπτονταί πως διὰ τῆς ἀδιαιρέτου ἑνώσεως καὶ τὸ μίαν εἶναι τῶν ὑποστάσεων τὴν ἐνέργειαν, πλείστην ἔχουσαι καὶ τῇ διακρίσει τὴν θεϊκήν τε καὶ ἄρρητον πρὸς ἀλλήλας συνάφειαν, καθ' ἣν υἱὸς ἐν πατρὶ καὶ πατὴρ ἐν υἱῷ καὶ υἱὸς ἐν πατρὶ καὶ πνεύματι, καὶ πνεῦμα ἐν υἱῷ καὶ πατρὶ θεωρεῖται, τῆς συναφείας πανταχόθεν ἐπικρατούσης καὶ μηδ' ἐν τοῖς ἰδιώμασι καινοτομούσης τὸ ἀδιαίρετον.—Eulogius ap. Phot. Biblioth., p. 277.]

CHAP. II.

beyond human wisdom, superior to all other artificial method, or rules of art [n]."

[The proper province of reason in this sort of truths.]

19. In sum, it is observable in the writing of the Scripture, that generally in defining these last sorts of truths, God's authority is set down as the only proof of what is said, without using any other way of arguing, or secular demonstration: all that is indulged to men's reason being only this; first, to consider whether it be not very equal and reasonable to believe God without any other motive or topic of proof, even in those things which are above or beside right reason, nay, against the proposals of corrupt; and secondly, to search, by what helps soever a reasonable man's prudence and diligence can suggest, or furnish him with, which is that word of God which contains these revelations, which reason tells them they must believe without further reasoning.

20. But not to suffer myself to believe any thing, though revealed by the Scriptures, but what reason otherwise would lead me to, is the same that Celsus persuaded the heathens of his side to, against Christ, to follow reason and the rational guide in all the doctrines we receive, all error and deceit being, saith he[o], brought into the world by faith; and that they that believed any thing without reason for it, are like them that delight in jugglers, &c.; and therefore he laughs at all those who requiring not reason for what they believe, use this phrase, "do not examine but believe, thy faith shall save thee," as men that are displeased with wisdom, and in love with folly. To all which, Origen, as acute a reasoner as any, opposes nothing but the evidence of prophecies, and the word of God for this rule of faith. Which if it be not simply believed without any philosophical

[n] Vide Just. Mart., p. 5, 6, A; 8, C; 9, A. So Just. Mart., p. 375, A; and for the τῶς τοῦτο, p. 379. So for the τρόπος of the union of Christ's natures, 382, B; σαφὴς ἔλεγχος ἀπιστίας τὸ πῶς περὶ Θεοῦ λέγειν, 386, B; 387, D; 388, A. [Ed. Par. 1636.]

[o] [μετὰ ταῦτα προτρέπει ἐπὶ τὸ] λόγῳ ἀκολουθοῦντας καὶ λογικῷ ὁδηγῷ, παραδέχεσθαι δόγματα· ὡς πάντως ἀπάτης γινομένης τῷ μὴ οὕτω συγκατατιθεμένῳ τισί· [καὶ ἐξομοιοῖ τοὺς ἀλόγως πιστεύοντας μητραγύρταις καὶ τερατοσκόποις, μίθραις τε καὶ σαββαδίοις καὶ ὅτῳ τις προσέτυχεν, Ἑκάτης ἢ ἄλλης δαίμονος ἢ δαιμόνων φάσμασιν· ὡς γὰρ ἐν ἐκείνοις πολλάκις μοχθηροὶ ἄνθρωποι ἐπιβαίνοντες τῇ ἰδιωτείᾳ τῶν εὐεξαπατήτων, ἄγουσιν αὐτοὺς ἢ βούλονται· οὕτω φησὶ καὶ ἐν τοῖς χριστιανοῖς γίγνεσθαι· φησὶ δέ τινας μηδὲ βουλομένους διδόναι ἢ λαμβάνειν λόγον περὶ ὧν πιστεύουσι, χρῆσθαι τῷ,] μὴ ἐξέταζε, ἀλλὰ πίστευσον, καὶ ἡ πίστις σου σώσει σε.—Orig. Cont. Cels., [lib. i. cap. 9. p. 327.]

rational enquiry concerning the things affirmed in it, many will of necessity still wallow in infidelity after all that God hath done for the rescuing them out of it, and only a few find that by rational search which before they believed by simple faith.

CHAP. III.

OF THE POWER OF THE AFFECTIONS AND INTERESTS IN MATTERS OF FAITH.

[Influence of men's affections,]

1. THE belief of Christianity being in the first chapter supposed to be thus sufficiently recommended to the understanding, which is a well-natured faculty, and very ready to hear reason when it is offered to it: there is but one obstruction possible, and that is from men's affections or interests; and that by two ways of proceeding; first mediately, secondly immediately.

[mediately by the will,]

2. First, they work mediately by the will, and have sometimes that unhappy influence upon that, as by their importunity to persuade it to interpose before the full representment or proposal of the object, and so to hinder the free access of the argument to the understanding.

3. Thus we see it often in prejudicate and passionate men, who are impatient of hearing or considering any thing that may dispossess them. And thus we see it sometimes in those of a better temper, who yet being unwilling to lose any advantages which they can make use of to maintain their present persuasions, are so intent upon their own part of the dispute that they do not receive the opposite arguments with that equal justice of improving them to the height with which they are offered, or to which, if it had happened that they had undertaken the maintenance of the other part, they could have heightened them. This latter, being not an effect of so great a distemper, is not so discernible, to ourselves especially, as the other; but yet is a fault, and that of ill consequence, and a deviation from the rules of distributive justice, which would allow as much of our attention or diligence to the improving of the argu-

CHAP. III.

ments of the one part as of the other, and express as impartial a kindness to the neighbour as to myself. And in all this the will is culpable for being thus, more or less, instrumental to the affections. And so it is negatively also, whensoever we do not use that industry of search as our condition permits, and the importance of the matter requires of us.

[immediately.]

4. But then, secondly, the affections and interests do themselves immediately, sometimes, perform their own business; they cloud and darken the understanding, and make it less capable and receptive of such representations as are made to it.

5. This made Aristotle to affirm, that pleasures are in some men corruptive of principles[q], i. e. that those common dictates of nature, &c., which are by all unbiassed men naturally consented to as true, and unquestioned, do yet to voluptuous men (and the same holds in matter of fear, and interest, and the other passions, and ill habits also) become matter of dispute, whether they be true or not: not because in reason any thing can there be offered fit to infuse scruples into a rational man, or to combat with the far greater potency of reason on the other side, which denominated them principles; but because these rational dictates having somewhat in them which is contrary to, and irreconcileable with, passions and sensitive pleasures, those consequently that have indulged to them, and espoused them, as the most desirable things, do, for the enjoying of them, undervalue and despise the rational arguments, which would cost them so dear, even the parting with their lusts, if they continued in that reputation which is due to them.

6. Hence is it that the more prudent of heathen philosophers have proposed it as the best preparative to the studying and search of truth, to have men's affections and appetites well regulated first (though not by reading or studying the books and science of morals or ethics, yet) by assuetude and virtuous custom[r], by inartificial precepts and sober education, &c., moderating and tempering their passions, and bring-

[q] [ἔστι γὰρ ἡ κακία φθαρτικὴ ἀρχῆς. Arist. Eth. Nicom. vi. 5.]

[r] διὰ ἀγράφου συνεθισμοῦ καὶ ἀτέχνων παραινέσεων τὸ ἔθος ἡμῶν ἀπευθυνόντων.—Simplic. in Categ. Arist.

ing them to live orthodoxly[s], lest having their reason disturbed by passions[t], they be not able to pass an exact judgment of things. And without this, say they, it is as impossible for a man to behold and judge aright of truths, such truths as have any thing any way contrary to passions, as for a man with sore eyes to behold illustrious splendid objects[u] without being anointed or cured of their distemper.

[Intemperate men hardly persuaded of the resurrection of the body.]

7. Accordingly it hath been observed in the first ages of the Church, that luxurious and intemperate men were of all others most hardly brought to believe the Christian doctrine of the resurrection of the body and immortality of the soul, because their carnal joys being so material and gross, and contrary to what Christ hath taught of an eternal life, and of spiritual bodies and bliss, their being so deeply engaged and immersed in the former, fortified them pertinaciously against all impressions from the latter, and enabled them to hold out finally against the belief of those Christian truths, which others of more ruly tempers, upon equal reasons, and the same representation, did most readily embrace and assent to.

8. And it is worth our present consideration and enquiry, whether they which are now most willing to entertain doubts of the truths of Christianity, are either more sharp discerners of truth than all others that are not, or than themselves before they arrived to this pitch of stanchness and scepticism; or again, whether they have seriously spent any considerable time in reviewing their principles, and doing so, have sprung any special new arguments which they had not considered before, and those of such weight with them, that they will contentedly expose themselves to all the torments of hell, the sure reward of an atheistical antichristian life, upon the bare probability of those their arguments, (which cannot be rationally done by them, unless their pretensions against Christian religion exceed ours for it in strength of credibility, as far as an eternal hell exceeds those short suf-

[s] ὀρθοδοξαστικῶς ζῆν, κατὰ τῆς ἠθικῆς ἀποτελέσματα.—Anonym. Schol. in Categ.

[t] ἵνα μὴ τεθολωμένον ὑπὸ τῶν παθῶν τὸν λογισμὸν ἔχοντες, τὰς περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων κρίσεις μὴ ἀκριβεῖς φέρωμεν. —Id.

[u] ὥσπερ γὰρ ὀφθαλμῷ λημῶντι, καὶ οὐ κακαθαρμένῳ, τὰ σφόδρα φωτεινὰ ἰδεῖν οὐχ οἷόντε· οὕτως καὶ ψυχῇ μὴ ἀρετὴν κεκτημένῃ, τὸ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐνοπτρίσασθαι κάλλος. — Hierocl. in Præf. ad χρυσᾶ ἔπη. [p. 5, ed. Par. 1583.]

CHAP. III.

ferings of this life, to which Christianity betrays us; or as an eternal state of spiritual bliss in heaven doth surpass the transitory, unsatisfactory, short pleasures of sin in this life;) or whether it be not really their freer indulgence to some liberties which Christianity admits not of, (and that more against light, and against the importunity of God's judgments than before,) or perhaps some change of affairs abroad, which hath made the practice of Christianity a more inconvenient costly thing than it was wont to be; most men being willing to have the advantage of religion, as long as there be but few and supportable encumbrances that attend it, and after, changing their opinion of it when they have run any hazards by it.

9. Which truly is so far from being new or strange, that it was a part of the character that our Christ set upon Himself and His doctrine, both in that parable of the "seed that fell upon stony ground," which is supposed to be scorched at the rising of the sun upon it, and by that close of his answer to John's disciples, "Blessed is he that is not scandalized at Me," foretelling them that the most eminent and considerable danger to Christian religion is, that they which in prosperous times are forward professors of it, will, when their religion begins to offer them smart, fairly forsake and fall off from it.

[Matt. xiii. 5.]

[Matt. xi. 6.]

[Influence of supposed interest on either side.]

10. Thus much hath been premised to this second head of arguments, on purpose to shew the influence that matter of advantage may have on belief; and that on either side, not only where men's interests do chance to thwart their persuasions, but also, and as discernibly, when they appear on their sides to assist and confirm them.

11. For so certainly did the sweetness and well tastedness of the manna work as effectually on the faith of some Jews, make them as willing to adhere to God and Moses, in opposition to returning to Egypt, as the new miraculous manner of the coming of that down upon them; and the milk and honey of Canaan were very good motives, and allectives, and engagements to the faith and obedience of others. And so in like manner the carnality of the paradise that Mahomet promised to his disciples hath much advanced the credit, and facilitated the belief, and disguised the grossness and absurdities of the Alcoran.

12. And because advantages are not to be disliked because they are such, but because they pretend and are mistaken to be such, when they are not, and by so doing do rob us of those that are truly so, or that are infinitely weightier and more considerable; and because that which is really the most advantageous is always most rational, most prudent for man to choose and pursue and aspire to; therefore it is that to the former argument of the reasonableness of the ground or testimony on which we believe Christian religion to be true, I now proceed to the advantages that those that embrace it shall reap by it, both because most men's objections against Christianity are founded in an opinion, that it is not an advantageous profession, and would have no other quarrel to it if they were satisfied that it were; and also because though advantageousness no way contributes to the making or proving a thing to be true or false, yet it doth to the making it more or less worth believing or embracing, (for every slight truth is not such,) and so more or less fit to be set up in our hearts as our religion.

13. For, that by religion every man entertains hopes of acquiring somewhat of benefit to himself, and would not choose to enter into those bands if he did not promise himself some advantage by it, is a maxim which I shall not think fit to prove or confirm in this place.

CHAP. IV.

OF THE ADVANTAGES OF CHRISTIAN RELIGION IN THE GROSS.

1. THERE is nothing therefore after the testifying of the truth so proper for this present disquisition, as the consideration of the advantages of Christian religion, and those advanced above all other imaginable advantages of any other religion, as much as the credibility of Christian religion is above the credibility of any other that pretends against it.

2. This I am by my premised method obliged to consider here, only as true in the gross. And that will be done by this one consideration, which hath been enlarged on in other

CHAP. IV.

papers[x], that the precepts of Christ, especially His superadditions to the former laws of Moses and of nature, are, beyond all the contrary vices, or the lower degrees of the same virtues, perfectly agreeable to human reason, cultivated, and improved, and heightened by philosophy; so that that shall confess those things to be still most commendable and most excellent which Christ hath thought fit to command His followers. This might be demonstrated through all particulars: but I shall more strictly restrain myself to the advantages of a Christian life, by considering it first in order to outward, and secondly to inward advantages.

[Public outward advantages of a Christian life, such as peace,]

3. The outward advantages are again more public, or more private. Of the public there is none sure more valuable and more fundamental to all other than that of peace; and that is so immediately and inseparably annexed to the Christian doctrine, that, would men think fit to be guided by that rule, were but Christ's precepts constantly practised, there would be no occasion of distemper or disturbance through the world, either between Christian potentates among themselves, or betwixt any Christian prince and the subjects of his own kingdom.

4. First, in what state or condition soever a man is placed in any nation, be he king or subject, this commands him most strictly therein to abide with God; every man to content himself with his present portion, whether it be of sovereignty or of inferior estate under subjection. Then secondly, wheresoever the supremacy of power is placed by the laws of any kingdom, there Christ requires subjection and non-resistance in all subjects; and both by Himself, and in the writings of His disciples, repeateth and impresseth that far more earnestly on the subject, than He doth the duty of protection on the supreme; and where they conjoin them both, there they begin constantly with that of subjection in the inferior, as being of more universal concernment to the peace and preservation of the whole, and as that which earns the superior's performing of his duty, as a due reward to their obedience. Thirdly, Christ prohibits self-love, thinking highly of oneself, all covetousness, ambition, animosities, revenge, doing or returning of injuries,

Matt. xxii. 21; Acts xxiii. 5; Rom. xiii.; 1 Pet. ii. 13, 18; Eph. v. 22, 25; vi. 1. 4, 5, 9; 1 Pet. iii. 1, 7; [Col. iii. 18, 19; 20, 21; 22, iv. 1.]

[x] Second Sermon on Matt. xi. 30. [vol. iv. p. 477.]

whisperings, backbitings, distrusts and jealousies, all scrupulous preventions of remote possible dangers: and fourthly, He commands doing as we would be done to, blessing of enemies, contempt of the world, not valuing any thing which is most tempting in it, and, above all things, pursuing of peace with all men, in the greatest extent imaginable, as much as in them lies, and wherever it is possible, even over the whole world. And fifthly, the precepts delivered by Christ, plain and intelligible to all, as they are a standard by which every man is to measure his own actions, so are they also to examine others, and consequently they will fortify against seducers and sly disturbers of a people's peace, if, according to Christ's direction, we try them by their fruits, and reject and stop our ears against all those whose doctrines bring not exact concordance to Christian practice along with them. And where these precepts are put in practice, what possible inlet is there left for disturbance or sedition to enter?

[Rom. xii. 18.]

5. After peace, plenty is the most desirable public good, and that is hardly separable from the former; but besides the contributions which all the fomenters of peace have made toward plenty also, Christian religion hath peculiar ways of ascertaining any people of that, if its laws be embraced and practised. For, first, Christ commands labour, and industry, and diligence, banishes the idle, as a "disorderly walker[y]," disbands him as soon as he appears to be such. Secondly, He makes the rich man His almoner, or steward to distribute to every man's wants as he is able: and as He blesses his liberality and renders it the most probable course to make him rich, so He convinces him, that gathering and hoarding up wealth is the meanest, and withal the most disadvantageous folly, and that the only real commodity in riches is the joy and happiness of relieving others, and the enhancing of their future reward by so doing. Thirdly, He forbids rapines, defraudings, gaining to ourselves by any other man's losses. And fourthly, by putting the wealth of the world in a channel, to descend from superiors to inferiors, from him that hath to him that hath not, from the part that is filled to that other that is emptied, He makes a certain

[and plenty.]

2 Thess. iii. 6.

[y] ἀτάκτως περιπατοῦντος.

CHAP. IV.

provision for every part of the body. And beyond all this, fifthly, He hath taught men, that all the good of plenty, is to be enjoyed in a competence or a sufficience, and that there is only more trouble, and more charge, and more fears, and more temptations annexed to any greater abundance. And sixthly, He hath given all His faithful servants assurance, that He that hath the disposing of all, and knows what they have need of, will never so destitute them that they shall want these necessary things. And when plenty is thus interpreted, and these provisions made for it, there will be little possibility that any people that live according to these rules shall fail of that certain benefit of them.

[Private outward advantages,]

6. Then for the private outward advantages to every Christian liver, they will be as discernible also. And these are of two sorts; first, those that have an universal influence on the comfortableness and cheerfulness of the whole life, without which neither health nor wealth, nor any particular advantage will have any taste or relish in them; secondly, those particulars of health, &c. Of the first sort, I shall be confident to prefer the observance of one Christian precept, attending to a man's particular calling, which as it is the strict duty of every Christian of what rank or quality soever, so is it that which sweetens the whole life to him that lives orderly according to that rule. It is certain that assuetude and custom hath a moral efficacy in it to make every thing pleasant that is accustomed, (were it not upon that score, it is not imaginable that some sins to some men, which have natural aversions to them, should ever be taught to go down so smoothly.) By this means, business and bodily labour itself, which at the distance seems most uneasy, to those that have been brought up in it proves most pleasant and delightful. To such an one, idleness and want of employment is really the most uneasy affliction of his life.

7. And for him that is not brought up to either of these, yet we see by experience, and are able to give the reason of it, from the active temper both of the body and mind of man, that there is no such constant torment as the not knowing what to do with his time, the having his hours lie upon his hands; for the removing of which, most of the vain or sinful mixtures of our lives are sought out as cures or divertise-

ments, and having no real pleasantness in them, do yet imitate some, by ridding us of the contrary uneasiness, the burden of that idle time, which is made more supportable by such varieties. Thus hath that uncharitable and very mean quality of censuring and backbiting and deriding of others become so frequent and fashionable in the world; — so inseparable from all our conversations, the only modern good company, as it is called,—only because many persons have no other employment for their time but that of talking; and of that sort this is the most obvious to those who have neither zeal enough to their own good, nor so much of friendship to those with whom they converse, as to make the faults of one another, in order to the reforming or fortifying one another, the subject of their discourse. To this and all other sins and vanities of this nature, this duty of attending the calling is a certain antidote or cure, the advantages of which cannot be more eminently exemplified than among those men who by mistake are conceived to have no obligation or calling upon them, I mean those of the nobility and gentry in a kingdom. I shall enlarge on this instance a little.

8. The calling of those that are not born to estates or possessions is generally acknowledged to be somewhat of labour or industry for the acquiring of wealth; and to them may reasonably be confined that part of Adam's curse (which is yet sweetened to Christians by Christ) that "in the sweat of their brows they shall eat their bread." But then those that have ample possessions left them, sufficient for themselves and family, and much more, and besides, a perpetuity of that to their families for ever, are certainly under no such obligation to labour, to increase so fair an heap, or to spend that precious time and sweat and industry on the bringing more water into the ocean, or indeed more weight into that burden of wealth which lies already an encumbrance, more commonly than a real advantage, on their shoulders. Their calling therefore, without question, consists in the scattering, not increasing, in the discreet, charitable distribution of that yearly revenue which is committed to their stewarding, i. e. in the using that wealth to the richest advantages they are able, to the service of God. Such is the spending their time as citizens not of one city, but of the world, enquiring what

[such as industry in our calling.]

[Gen. iii. 19.]

CHAP. IV.

is the duty of mankind, and how they may serve God cheerfully in those precepts of Christ which are of the greatest perfection, observing the wonderful things of God's law, and the harmony which those notes of discord make, which to the unskilful or untunable ear are so harsh. This and much more in reference to God: and then in order to men, the well ordering of that part of the commonwealth wherein they are employed, the relieving of those that want, the attracting inferiors by exhortation, admonition, correption, (but especially by exemplary acts of all piety,) to the practice of Christianity, and, as much as in them lies, bringing virtue into countenance and reputation, into fashion and credit in the world.

9. That wealth and eminency of place are very proper instruments toward this end, will not be needful to be demonstrated here; all that is seasonable will be, to consider what a treasure of joy and sweetness would come in to every such person in a kingdom by a constant cheerful attendance on the severals of this calling, every one of them infinitely more proportionable to the appetites of a generous ingenuous mind than any thing else which his ambition could suggest to him,—nothing vulgar or mean in it,—and, beside all the particular delights in every act of each, the great transcendent comfort of having satisfied conscience, the not having lived an unprofitable burden of the earth, the having in some measure performed the task for which he came into the world, would be to him that comes to reap them unspeakable ravishments, though at the distance perhaps, the sensual designer discerns not such excellencies in them.

[Particular external advantages, such as health,]

10. Next are the several particular external advantages, as they are the desired portion of every individual man, which, beyond all other prudential methods imaginable, obedience to Christ's precepts provides for us. Of this sort first, the health of the body, the foundation of all other outward comforts, cannot better be preserved from diseases, than by strict rules of constant temperance and sobriety, and of fasting and abstinence sometimes, of continence or conjugal chastity, of active and industrious pursuit of the business of the calling; nor can it better be secured from wounds and maims and violent deaths, than by mildness,

and quietness, and sobriety, and bearing of injuries; all which are the special charges of Christian religion.

11. The very same practices, besides these proprieties of advantage to the health, and ease, and strength of the body, have in them a far greater delight and pleasure and gratefulness to the senses than any of the unchristian contraries. No pleasure in eating and drinking like that in the temperate feeding on the plainest, wholesomest diet; and so in the rest.

[and reputation.]

12. For reputation, another special outward advantage, it is clear, that besides that Christian religion teaches every man to "think better of others than himself," forbids judging and reproaching and backbiting, and so most certainly preserves that jewel entire to every man; the practice of Christian virtues commands esteem and value even from those which least exercise them themselves. The proud man cannot choose but reverence the meek, the debauched man the temperate, the greatest self-seeker him that most divests himself of all his self-interests. There are not three things in the world which so certainly bring a good reputation along with them, as charity, and humility, and constancy; and these three are the prime commands of Christian religion.

[Phil. ii. 3.]

[Inward advantages of the soul,]

13. After the outward, I proceed to the inward advantages, the advantages of the soul; and those either of this life at the present, or in order to another life.

[by purging,]

14. The Christian precepts tend evidently to the bettering of the soul in this life: first, by purging. The heathen philosophers, Porphyry, and divers others, especially the Pythagoreans, were much concerned in the pollutions of the soul which they discerned, and beyond all things in the world desired and endeavoured the purging them out, sought to magic and sorcery to that end, but terribly mistook in that way to it. Our Christ hath done this, by the grace and doctrine of repentance, as far as is necessary for an inferior state; and so, is foretold by the old prophets under the style of "the desire of all nations," and "the expectation of the gentiles," as He that brought with Him, in His precepts and in His graces, a full satisfaction to all the gaspings and thirsts of the most rational and earnest appetites about us.

[Haggai ii. 7; Gen. xlix. 10.]

CHAP. IV.

15. Secondly, by cultivating it with all useful knowledge and true wisdom. For such, by the oracles' own confession, is practical knowledge; and of that kind all the philosophers that ever were never ascended to so high pitches as Christ's one sermon in the mount hath done. [by cultivating,]

16. Thirdly, by satisfying it, allowing it here those enjoyments which of all others a rational soul is pleased with. 1. The pleasures of friendship, or profitable conversation, admonishing and instructing one another. 2. The pleasure and special ravishment of relieving and refreshing those that want, of making a poor man happy. 3. The pleasure of contentment, and desiring nothing but what we enjoy. 4. The pleasure of victories, in resisting and overcoming temptations of all sorts, but especially of "overcoming evil with good." And whenever there is any unpleasant mixture, then 5. The pleasure of a difficult obedience, thereby to approve our love and zeal to Him who hath given Himself for us. [by satisfying,] Rom. xii. 21.

17. And fourthly, by daily rewarding of it: 1. By the comforts and joyous reflections of a good conscience, as that is set off by the contrary hell and torments of a bad. 2. By the several eases that the several Christian virtues give men here: the ease of patience, contrary to the uneasiness of rage; the ease of contempt of the world, contrary to the perpetual drudgery and toils of the worldling; the ease of the continent man, contrary to the flames and disquiets of the libidinous. 3. By the present experience of God's loving-kindness here, in answering of those prayers which are useful for us, in denying those which would be hurtful, in restraining us sometimes, in exciting us at other times, in speaking peace to our souls, &c. 4. By conversing with God by meditation, by thanksgiving, singing hosannahs and hallelujahs to Him, the most joyous employment in the world. Nay, by a perpetual cheerfulness, "rejoicing always;" which, as it would be another man's reward, so is it the duty of a Christian. 5. By the expectations of a reward in another life; which, though future, is yet by the benefit of two Christian virtues, faith and hope, forestalled, and anticipated, and made present to us. And all these, if there were not infinitely more, were sure advantages enough to entertain a short life of fifty or threescore years, and secure it [by rewarding.] [2 Cor. vi. 10.]

from being wearisome to a Christian, or from needing those sinful, shameful, unworthy divertisements that all other sorts of men, on purpose that their time may not lie upon their hands, are fain to seek out unto themselves.

[Value of reward above that of other rewards.]

18. Lastly, the advantages which a Christian reaps by Christ are in order to another life. And those I shall best represent to you by shewing these two things. 1. The valuableness of the reward promised by Christ, and aspired to by Christians, infinitely above all other rewards that any other religion pretends to bestow upon men. 2. The attainableness of that reward, and the blame that will light on none but ourselves (so that we shall be bound to acknowledge ourselves most stupidly wretchless and irrational) if we do not attain to it.

19. For the former, the valuableness of the Christian's future reward, infinitely above the wages of any other religion, that will appear, 1. by the immateriality, and 2. by the eternity of it. Both these it is defined to be, by Christ; and by being so, is concluded to be an eternal, infinitely blissful state. And that Christ said true in that, need not again be proved, God Himself having been proved to bear Him witness, that all that He said is true. The immateriality of this reward demonstrates it agreeable and proportioned to the nobler part of us, the upper or rational soul: all other grosser pleasures, the Mahometans' enjoying of women, and the Jews' long life in a Canaan, being gratifications to the viler parts of us, our senses or bodies, and to those too in their vilest state, as they are natural, not as they shall be spiritual, and equal to angelical bodies.

20. Having said this, I need not add the shamefulness and emptiness and unsatisfactoriness of all bodily pleasures, proceeding partly from the covetous ungrateful condition of that basest part of us, as the heathens have styled the body, partly from the great meanness and poorness and baseness of all bodily contents,—so unworthy to be the ambitions, or any thing but the servants and attendants of the reasonable soul,—and the instant satieties and irksomenesses that they always are attended with, such as nothing could make any mere man place any considerable value upon them, were not he either cheated into it, at the distance, by the false glosses

CHAP. IV.

that other men put upon them, and by seeing what hazards are willingly run in pursuit of them; or were he not early engaged in an habitual indulgence to them, which makes that difficult to part with which he hath enjoyed so long, and consequently which imitates some pleasure, and is mistaken for it, by the contrary painfulness of giving it over.

21. Whereas on the other side the immaterial, spiritual, more sublime satisfactions to the pure indefatigable spirit, the rational immortal soul within us, as they cannot be liable to those basenesses and emptinesses, so neither are they in danger of those satieties; and by satisfying and blessing that part of us which is infinitely most excellent in our natures, must of themselves necessarily be concluded most superlatively excellent, and deserve, as such, to be infinitely preferred and most valued by us.

22. Having said this one thing of the immateriality of the Christian's future reward, and agreeableness to that part about us which alone is worth providing for,—the happinesses of the other inferior parts being consequent to and included in this, and a provision withal being, by the wisdom of our God, made for them that they shall no longer desire or want those enjoyments, which is perfectly the same, if not with some advantage better than if they had them,—it is not possible any further improvement or accession should be made to this reward, but only by the perpetuating of it.

[It is never diminished or withdrawn.]

23. And this is that other part of Christ's promise, that the bliss which He thus bestows shall in respect of its own plenitude never be exhausted or diminished; nor again, through the repentance of the donor or the envy of any other, ever be withdrawn or forced from us.

24. And this is a great enhancement and evidence of the rationalness of our religion, how severe soever Christ's commands or how rigid His exactings are supposed to be, or what sharpness soever we here are forced or permitted to endure in approving our obedience to Him. If there be any difficulty in the obedience, or ungratefulness in the sufferings of a Christian's life, yet the abundant recompence of the present advantages, and, after those, of the soul-ravishing unspeakable bliss,—infinitely above the weight of the hardest or roughest part of Christ's task of performances,

and above the proportion of the sourest portion that any pious man tastes in the afflictions of this life,—were they supposed to be of the same equal duration, would make our hopes and patience and perseverance perfectly rational, according to the balances with which indifferent men weigh, or husbandmen labour, or merchants traffic here on earth.

25. But when to every minute of a pleasant, not painful obedience, to every mite of pressure (which God that sends gives strength also to bear cheerfully, makes matter not of patience, but victory and rejoicing to us) there is most immutably ascertained to us by Christ an "eternal" (ETERNAL) "weight of glory," how impossible is it that those few sour drops of so short transitory obedience and patience, should not be drowned and lost in that vast ocean, whereunto within a while they shall be really, and at the instant, by faith and hope, they are, in effect and by equivalence, poured out. [2 Cor. iv. 17.]

26. If there be any thing now left disputable in this matter, it must be, whether it will not be justly deemed irrational that God should so over-heap His measure, so over-proportion His wages to us, reward that so gloriously, which, if there were never a heaven hereafter, were at the present, reward sufficient to itself, and infinitely preferable before the condition of any other man's life. But the advantage of that being on our side, we shall have little reason to dispute or complain of it.

27. The only thing imaginable to be replied will be, that Christ's inflictions are as immaterial and as eternal as His rewards; and the reason not presently discernible, why our short, empty, nauseated pleasures, the sins of a short life, and the joys of those sins far shorter than the shortest life, should be punished so sadly and so eternally. This scruple of the atheist hath been searched to the bottom, and answered in other papers[z]; and the brief of it is this; that the choice being referred to us to take of the two which we best like, eternal death set before us on the one hand, to make eternal life the more infinitely reasonable for us to choose, on the other hand; and the eternal hell, whensoever we fall into it, being perfectly our own act, neither forced on us by any absolute decree of God's, nor irresistible temptation of [Notice of the atheist's objection of eternal punishment.]

[z] Pract. Catech., lib. v. sect. 4. [p. 336.]

CHAP. IV.

the devil, nor our own flesh, but as truly our wish and choice, and made purchase, nay, much more truly and properly than eternal heaven is (when our obedience is first so wrought by God's grace, and yet after that so abundantly rewarded by the donor:) it is certain that if there be any thing irrational, it is in us unkind and perverse creatures, (so obstinately to choose what God so passionately warns us to take heed of, so wilfully to die, when God swears He wills not our death,) and not in Him, that hath done all that is imaginable to be done to reasonable creatures, here in their way or course, to the rescuing and saving of us.

28. And so this hath by the way demonstrated also the attainableness of that reward, and the no kind of fault of God's,—He hath sent His prophets, His Son, His Spirit, His ministers, His mercies, His judgments, all sorts, and new methods of working deliverances and salvations for us, and all slaughtered, and crucified, and grieved, and abused by us, —but all merely of ourselves, if through our irrational prides or sloths we do not attain to it. I shall not need therefore further to enlarge on that, especially having[a] elsewhere abundantly demonstrated the truth of it.

CHAP. V.

THE EXCEPTIONS AGAINST SOME PARTICULARS IN CHRISTIAN RELIGION; AND 1. GOD'S DISPOSITIONS OF PROVIDENCE.

1. It now remains that I proceed from the gross to the retail, from the general to the particular view and consideration of those particular branches of Christian religion, which seem to men at this time to be least supported with reason. And they will be of two sorts, either concerning God's providence, or concerning God's commands now under the gospel. The first concerns His wisdom in dispensing the things of the world among men; the second His choice of duties wherein to exercise us.

2. For the first of these, it will briefly be reduced to this question, whether it can be deemed rational that injustice

[a] Pract. Catech., lib. i. sect. 1. [p. 5.]

should prosper, and patience never be relieved or rewarded in this life; as it is every where taught to be the method of God, and is most eminently exemplified on Christ Himself in His own person in the gospel.

[Objection of injustice prospering in this world.]

3. Where first, if the question were, whether injustice could be really favoured by God, or by Him so approved and encouraged as to be thought worthy of any the least reward, though but of a cup of cold water, by Him: or, as consentaneous to that, whether injustice by going unpunished here, and by being triumphant in this world, might be thence concluded to be an act either of sanctity or of innocence, owned and commended and justified by God by its thus prospering; I should then, I confess, acknowledge this to be irrational, and not plead or undertake to be the advocate of that religion which should teach one such doctrine as this.

[God's permission of injustice not the favouring it.]

4. For this were to make a God, who by being such is supposed to be of an immutable will and justice, to become inconstant and contradictory to Himself, to forbid oppression as contrary to His will, and yet, without making any change in the matter,—without withdrawing what He hath given to one, and disposing it to another, as in the case of the Egyptians' jewels and the Canaanites' land,—to reward it as agreeable to His will; to pronounce that no "covetous person," without repentance, "shall inherit the kingdom of heaven," and yet to give the covetous, besides an infallible title to the kingdom of God, continued to him as a special saint of His, the addition of all the blessings of this life. In a word, this were the same irrational thing as to affirm that thief which prospered in his assault and actually robbed the traveller, and perhaps killed him too, to be by that means turned honest man, and that nothing but miscarrying in his attempt could denominate or demonstrate him a thief; that no sin were any longer a sin if it were once acted, no oppression any longer oppression if it were permitted to come to its fulness; that every the foulest violence, as soon as it were come to the height, bearing down all the resistances of divine and human laws and force, did then presently cease to be violence, and by being the lowest fiend in hell, commence *ipso facto* the most rewardable saint. And therefore the only religion that hath been known in the world to

[Exod. xi. 2; Deut. vii. 1; 1 Cor. vi. 10.]

CHAP. V.

maintain and countenance this, that of the Turk or Mahometan, I profess to believe absolutely irrational.

[This evidenced in the death of Christ.]

5. But for Christianity, that is so distinctly contrary to this, that the great fundamental history upon which all our religion at once is built, is the most lively example and doctrine of the contrary. For when Christ Himself was delivered up into the power of wicked men, and by them arraigned and reviled and crucified, not only the disciples which were His constant attendants, but His army of myriads of angels that were always at His command, doing nothing toward His release, when this consultation of the Sanhedrim became successful, and obtained the desired event against Him,—the highest and most prosperous oppression of the greatest innocence and virtue,—then, though there were more circumstances which might affix this on God His Father, and seem to draw Him into partaking in it, than we find recorded of any or all other sinful actions,—as that God's hand and counsel did fore-determine this to be done; that God foretold it by all His prophets, and from the certainty that they could not lie, doth, when it is done, conclude that Christ "ought thus to suffer:" that they that did it, even the chief rulers of them, had the excuse of some ignorance, until God's raising Him from the dead dispelled this mist from before their eyes; that what God had thus foretold and predetermined, viz., that Christ should suffer, He had thus fulfilled, that He that suffered voluntarily laid down His life, and by a speedy taking it up again was freed from the saddest part of death, the remaining under the power of it, nay, was in the issue so far from being the worse for suffering, that besides the glorious advantages that came to His disciples and children by it, He Himself was in that human nature of His highly rewarded and exalted for this His suffering; though, I say, all these circumstances concurred to make the injury less, the crime more excusable, and altogether more fit and more honourable to be charged upon God, and so to turn it from the crime of murder to the virtue of obedience to God's will and charity and benefaction to mankind, and even to Him that suffered,—yet this one act of the Jews, their doing against the express command and will of God, that thing which yet was by God 'determined to be

[Luke xxiv. 26.]

Acts iii. 18.

[Acts iv. 28.]

done[b],' their crucifying an innocent person, that desired nothing but their amendment, their committing that act which by God was forbidden under the commandment of murder, is thought fit by that God whom the Christians worship to be punished most prodigiously and exemplarily, that ever any sin of the deepest dye and the most mischievous effects was ever punished, even with the utter desolation of the whole nation, and all the prodigies that have been read of, the greatest pomp of aggravating circumstances, the calling heaven and earth together, to make the execution of these crucifiers the more solemn and remarkable. So far is Christianity from owning any such irrational doctrine as this. CHAP. V.

6. But this being thus disclaimed, and the doctrine which is acknowledged to be Christian being cleared to be only this, that in God's dispensation and providence, and governing of the world under the gospel, it is not unusual for injustice to prosper, and patience and innocence never to be relieved or rewarded in this life; this I shall now assume on me to clear to be perfectly reasonable; and it shall be by thus taking it asunder.

7. First, that wicked men should be permitted to be wicked, when all fair rationable means have successlessly been used to bring them to repentance, to restrain them from waxing worse and worse; that they that will not mend by all the probablest and most effectual means, should at last be left to themselves and become incorrigible; that God should not proceed from persuasion to violence, and force them to be good,—contrary to the nature of man in this his state of proficiency, who was created with a will or freedom of doing evil if he pleased, and contrary to the nature of free and rewardable goodness, which if compelled ceaseth to be such,—who will not be restrained from evil without force; this will never be deemed irrational in God, who hath another tribunal to arraign and punish those who will not submit to exhortation and discipline here: but on the contrary, it will very ill become the servant of God, for his own ease and security, to wish the disturbance of that method of God with mankind, to expect that man, which when he was [God hath another tribunal to arraign the wicked at.]

[b] προώρισε γενέσθαι.

CHAP. V.

in innocence was created with a liberty to choose the evil, should now, amidst the briars and thorns, after the provocations of a long vicious life, have such shackles laid on him, as that he should not be able to break God's bands and laws; and all this only that the good man may be protected, who, if he be not, knows that it is far more for his advantage than if he were.

[It is more strange that the wicked are not more prosperous.]

8. Secondly, that they which are wicked and have cast off all restraints of divine and human laws, which break through all the ties and securities that promises and oaths can lay upon them—the greatest protection for innocents that any religion or law hath ever provided for them—should by these advantages above other men, be able to overreach and defraud others; and by this means having acquired a power of hurting, should, when they have it, make use of this power to do what is most agreeable to their lusts and interests to do; this again hath nothing in it strange or irrational: it is far more strange that it is not always thus, that (wicked men allowing themselves all the liberty, and being by their very sins furnished with all armour and instruments to work their wills; and all innocent men, that resolve to continue such, being by this means disarmed and naked before them), the wicked should not get the whole world into their possessions.

9. This certainly were to be expected, and by this means all that have wicked inclinations would in any human likelihood be encouraged to act the height of their power of hurting, were there not a peculiar hedge of providence to defend the meek, without any of their own considerable contributions toward it, to guard them wonderfully in the open field without any visible means of doing it. And if this shall otherwise happen at some one time, perhaps but once in many ages, and that for some very great end, in God's wisdom more considerable to the godlike government of the whole world than the miraculous rescuing of a few meek innocents from a short oppression in earthly things which are not worth the possessing could be deemed to be; there is sure no great wonder in this, nothing irrational in the sometimes permitting of it.

10. He that were secured in his inheritance in a quiet

kingdom as long as any man enjoyed his own, as majesty were permitted on the throne, or law and justice on the bench, would never desire a fairer conveyance, or a longer lease of the most valued possessions of this life: and this security remains to the meek man, though once in many ages it may have happened not to prove good unto him.

[Neither is there any thing irrational in the innocent suffering.]

11. And as there hath been nothing strange or irrational on the part of the wicked oppressor that prospers: so next, on the part of the patient or sufferer that smarts under him, there will appear to be as little.

12. For first, absolute innocence is a thing which, save in the person of Christ, hath never been met with in man or woman on the earth; and therefore he that is guilty of no fault in one particular, may yet be culpable and punishable in many others: he that is legally possessed of an estate, and hath done nothing to forfeit it in law, may yet have sinned against God, and so have punishments due to him from that eternal justice; which if they fall upon his body or estate in this world, there is nothing irrational in that; but especially if so light a discipline may pass for all the revenge, and, through the sufferings of Christ and interposition of mercy, avert all future punishment, and be accepted in commutation for the torments of another judicature, this sure is all the charity and bounty in the world, that may be admired, but not complained of as unreasonable.

[They suffer at the hands of the wicked by the necessity of the case.]

13. Secondly; that those that for their other faults might justly be punished, should have this punishment inflicted on them by those which themselves are wicked, and are actually such in thus afflicting them, if this seem to have any thing unreasonable in it, it will soon be answered by the necessity of the matter, which makes it impossible for any but wicked men to be employed in it. The Israelites were once used to root out the nations, but that by an infallible commission from God the supreme lawgiver, (and whose will once being made known overrules all former laws,) and the universal owner and disposer of all the world and the possessions thereof. And by this commission, this became to them not only lawful, but necessary, an act not only of justice, but of obedience. And so upon the like commission the Levites' killing their brethren was an act of sanctity, a consecrating

CHAP. V.

themselves unto the Lord; those bloody sacrifices were in a manner the ceremonies of their consecration to their priests' office. But then, first, all this depended upon the infallible validity of their commission, which had it been falsely pretended by them, or had they not been ascertained that it came from God, their actions had been as ungodly and murderous as Abraham's sacrificing his son must have been deemed without the like commission. And secondly, this commission was by no means to be enlarged to any other, but those particular subjects or matters to which it was given. The Jews might not at that time have destroyed or invaded any other nation upon the face of the earth, nor might the Levites at any other time have killed their brethren on strength of that command; much less may any other people of any other nation, on strength of that example. And so now that such commissions are out-dated, when all is left by God in the hands of standing laws, in opposition to new revelations, and consequently, when that which is most just for me to suffer, or God to permit, (or by prospering in him to inflict on me,) is most injurious in him that doth it, were it not perfect fury, much above the pitch of irrational, to demand that God's dearest children should act as the vilest men? to require such explicit contradictions, that none but godly men should be permitted to oppress, to kill, to commit sacrilege, to lay waste, and to destroy, to break all those commandments of God, which he that doth, *ipso facto* ceaseth to be godly? If there be any wickedness to be done in a city, shall the righteous be the only men to do it? this were worth wondering at indeed. "Search the Scriptures," saith Clemens, an apostolical writer, (the same who is mentioned by St. Paul, Phil. iv. 3.) "and you shall never find the righteous cast out of their dignities by pious men[c]." But for the wicked, whose trade it is, whose joy of heart to be thus for ever occupied, he is in his element, he needs no call or incitation to do it. The turning him out of that office, and employing any body else, were the greatest unkindness to him; as the casting the devils out from tormenting the man, was by them looked on as "the destroying them before their time;" whereas the

[Matt. viii. 29; Mark i. 24; Luke i. 34.]

[c] οὐ [γὰρ] εὑρήσετε δικαίους ἀποβεβλημένους ἀπὸ ὁσίων ἀνδρων.—Epist. ad Cor., [cap. 45.]

angel of light would have looked upon it as a degree of hell, had he been sent in on that errand to torment him.

14. Thirdly; beside the perfect reasonableness of having offenders punished temporally here, which were reasonable, if it were for ever in another world, there is a second, not only justice, but mercy, in such sufferings on whomsoever they fall. They are admonitions, and doctrines, and spiritual medicines, disciplines of the soul, to awake us out of secure, and stop us in wilful, sinning; and are by God on purpose made use of to that end, when prosperity hath been long used and experimented to have no such auspicious influences in it, to be proper to feed and foment, very improper to starve and subdue enormities. And if the physician administer a bitter potion, if the surgeon apply a corrosive or caustic, when juleps or balsams are judged and proved to be ineffectual, sure it is not the manner of men to count such methods irrational.

[Justice and mercy in such sufferings.]

15. Nay, it will be no hyperbole to affirm, that the addition of such documents as these may sometimes deserve to be preferred and more preciously valued than all the doctrines in the book of God itself without these, one such seasonable application than all other receipts in His dispensatory. The word of God gives rules of living to all men, but those so general and unapplied, that it is ordinary for passionate men not to see themselves concerned in them. These punishments and visitations will be able to bring home, and make us, while we are under the discipline, confess that we are the very men to whom by peculiar propriety they appertain.

16. But there is yet a third sublimer benefit of such dispensations of God under the gospel, which will render them abundantly rational; and that is the exercise of many Christian graces of the greatest price in the sight of God, and such as shall be sure to be the most richly rewarded by Him, which were it not for such changes as these would lie by us unprofitably; such are patience, meekness, humility, contentedness with whatsoever lot, faithful dependence on God in all outward things, thanksgiving for plenty and for scarcity too, a submitting to God's will in suffering as well as doing it cheerfully; yea, and to His wisdom too, in

[Advantage of affording room for the exercise of Christian graces.]

CHAP. V.

resolving God's choices for us to be absolutely fitter for our turns than any our own wishes; and lastly, that wisdom James i. 5. which St. James speaks of, the skill of spiritual judging, which can really prefer this state of suffering for Christ, an excellence that angels do not partake of, beyond any other state or condition of life.

17. Were it but only for the variety, that all the burden of the day might not lie on those graces which are exercised in fair weather, but that those other provided for the storm or winter might take their turns, and give them some relaxation, this would be very rational and useful for us; as Aristotle saith, that the change of motions from up hill to down hill, and so back again, doth provide against lassitude, more than the constancy of any one, be it in the easiest, smoothest plain, because that lays all the burden incessantly upon one pair of muscles without any relief or assistance from any other. But when withal every exercise of each of these graces hath attending it an addition of more gems in our crown, more degrees of glory in another world, (that I may not add also of present joy, and satisfaction, and ravishment in the present exercises here,) then sure the superfluities and pleasures of this life, the any thing that is ever taken from us by the harpies and vultures of this world, are richly sold and parted with by the Christian, which knows how much, or, indeed, how little they are worth enjoying, if they may thus bring him in that rich freight of never-fading bliss in another world. And this will serve for justifying the rationalness of God's dealing with us now under the gospel in respect of His providence.

CHAP. VI.

THE EXCEPTIONS AGAINST CHRIST'S COMMANDS.

[Objection against the duty of taking up the cross.]

1. It remains that I proceed to Christ's commands under the gospel, and shew the rationalness of them.

2. And having done it so largely already on the head of advantages, I shall now only descend to that one against which our modern exceptions are most frequently made, viz.

3. The great fundamental duty of taking up the cross to follow Christ, i. e. of approving my obedience to Christ in all and every particular, even when the extremest danger, the loss of my life, is like to be the price to be paid for it.

4. The unreasonableness of this is argued and concluded from the contrariety of it to that liberty of self-defence, and to that law of self-preservation, which nature is supposed to dictate to every man. And the shewing the weakness of this objection will be a full vindication of the rationalness of the precept.

[Four meanings of self-preservation.]

5. And this is done by putting us in mind what is meant by self-preservation, and what by nature, and what by law. A man is made up of a body and a soul, a mortal and an immortal part, and those may be considered either severally or united: and consequently self-preservation may be set to signify any one or more of these four things, either, first, the preserving that material mortal part of him from present hurt; or secondly, preserving the immortal part of him in well and happy being; or thirdly, preserving the present union of one of these with the other; or fourthly, the providing for the perpetual happy union of them eternally. The first is the preserving the body, and with it the estate, and liberty, and reputation, &c., from present loss or diminution. The second is preserving the soul in innocence or virtue. The third is preserving of this life of ours, which we live in the natural body. And the fourth is, providing for a joyful resurrection, and an everlasting life attending it.

6. Then for nature, that may signify either blind unenlightened nature, which sees no more than the reflection upon itself, and the book of the creatures, and natural instincts represent to it; or else nature as it is enlightened by revelation, i. e. by God's making known some things in His word, which nature had never known had they not been thus revealed: such are the doctrines of our faith, and particularly the eternal rewards and punishments which are revealed to us in the Scripture.

7. Then for laws, those may be either absolute and peremptory, which yield not to any superior laws; or else conditional and subordinate, when a superior law doth not interpose to the contrary.

CHAP. VI.

8. To bring all this home to our present discourse. If by self-preservation be meant either the first or the third notion of the self, the preserving my body or my life, then though it may truly be said that it is a law of nature, that men may, and that, when no superior law requires the contrary, they ought, and are bound to preserve these imperfect mutilate selves, these bodies; yet then as there is a higher notion of a man than as that barely signifies his body, his soul being the far more excellent part of him, and the eternal union of body and soul together being most eminently the notion that he is concerned in, so there must be a superior law of self-preservation than that which commands only the preserving the body: and though bare unenlightened nature, that is able to look no further than this life, do not give any law in this matter; yet nature being supposed instructed in the Christian doctrine, that there is another life of body and soul after this to last for ever, must needs be resolved to do it; it being impossible that reasonable nature, when two things are represented so distant, as the life of a few years here in the midst of such sad mixtures, and an everlasting life hereafter in the fulness of all joys, should not enjoin the preserving of the latter, even with the contempt of the former, when the care of the former may bring any danger to the latter.

[Law of self-preservation respects future life as well as present.]

9. The short of it is, that when eternal life is in the hand of Christ to give to them that continue obedient and constant to Him, and to none else, and when the "fearing of them which can hurt and kill the body," the caring for or preserving of this present life, doth at any time or in any case resist or obstruct the performance of that duty which Christ then requires or expects from me; there nature commands me to despise the less and preserve the greater: and if it be not absolutely willing to sacrifice the present to the eternal life, and consequently to prefer the obeying of Christ to the preserving of this fading short life, it must acknowledge itself a blind heathen nature, that knows nothing of an eternal future life, and of Him that can "cast both body and soul into hell;" or else an irrational wild nature, that knows these distances of finite and infinite, and doth not think them worth considering.

[Matt. x. 28.]

[Luke xii. 5.]

CHAP. VI.

10. It is therefore my most charitable opinion of those that object the principle of self-preservation to the doctrine of taking up the cross, and determine us free from the obligation of paying obedience to Christ, when it cannot be done without endangering of estate or life, that they speak out of their memory only what they have read in books of that supreme law of the preserving oneself, but do not withal remember, that if that self signified only the body, it was the philosophy of them that knew nothing of the immortality of the soul or the endlessness of another life; or if they were aware of the Christian doctrines of eternity, they never called the body that self that was to be so solicitously tended.

[Application of this doctrine by the Gnostics.]

11. And therefore it is observable in the first ages of the Church, that those heretics that were enemies of the cross of Christ, that taught it to be indifferent[d] and lawful in time of persecution to forswear and renounce Christ, and offer sacrifice to idols, were a sort of men, the Gnostics, that immersed themselves in all unnatural filthiness, and depended not at all on the promises of another life; and having first taught that Christ did not really suffer in the flesh[e], but only

[d] [διδάσκειν τε] ἀδιαφορεῖν εἰδωλοθύτων ἀπογευομένους καὶ ἐξομνυμένους ἀπαραφυλάκτως τὴν πίστιν κατὰ τοὺς τῶν διωγμῶν καιρούς.—Euseb. Eccles. Hist., lib. iv. c. 7.

[ἐλήλυθέ τις ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος μέγα φρονῶν ἐπὶ τῷ δύνασθαι πρεσβεύειν γνώμης ἀθέου καὶ ἀσεβεστάτης καλουμένης Ἑλκεσαϊτῶν, νεωστὶ ἐπανισταμένης ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις· ἐκείνη ἡ γνώμη οἷα λέγει κακὰ παραθήσομαι ὑμῖν, ἵνα μὴ συναρπάζησθε· ἀθετεῖ τινὰ ἀπὸ πάσης γραφῆς· κέχρηται ῥητοῖς πάλιν ἀπὸ πάσης παλαιᾶς τε καὶ εὐαγγελικῆς· τὸν ἀπόστολον τέλεον ἀθετεῖ· φησὶ δὲ ὅτι] τὸ ἀρνήσασθαι ἀδιάφορόν [ἐστι· καὶ ὁ μὲν νοήσας, τῷ στόματι] ἐν ἀνάγκαις [ἀρνήσεται, τῇ δὲ καρδίᾳ οὐχί· καὶ βίβλον τινὰ φέρουσιν ἣν λέγουσιν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καταπεπτωκέναι· καὶ τὸν ἀκηκοότα ἐκείνης καὶ πιστεύοντα ἄφεσιν λήψεσθαι τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων, ἄλλην ἄφεσιν παρ' ἣν Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς ἀφῆκε.]—Id., lib. vi. c. 38, out of Origen on Psalm 82.

[e] οὐκ ἀληθῶς. Vide Ignatii Epist. ad Smyrn. [c. 2. ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα ἔπαθεν δι' ἡμᾶς ἵνα σωθῶμεν· καὶ ἀληθῶς ἔπαθεν ὡς καὶ ἀληθῶς ἀνέστησεν ἑαυτόν· οὐχ ὥσπερ ἄπιστοί τινες λέγουσιν τὸ δοκεῖν αὐτὸν πεπονθέναι, αὐτοὶ τὸ δοκεῖν ὄντες· καὶ καθὼς φρονοῦσιν καὶ συμβήσεται αὐτοῖς οὖσιν ἀσωμάτοις καὶ δαιμονικοῖς.]

[μὴ εἶναι δὲ τὸν Χριστὸν γεγεννημένον ἐκ Μαρίας,] μηδὲ ἐν σαρκὶ [πεφηνέναι,] ἀλλὰ δοκήσει [ὄντα καὶ δοκήσει πεφηνότα, δοκήσει δὲ τὰ ὅλα πεποιηκότα. S. Epiphan. adv. Cerdonianos, lib. i. tom. iii. p. 300.] Vide Cyril. Hier. Catech. [Mystagog. ii. p. 287. Χριστὸς ὄντως ἐσταυρώθη, καὶ ὄντως ἐτάφη καὶ ἀληθῶς ἀνέστη, and ἐν ἀληθείᾳ καὶ οὐκ ἐν δοκήσει ταῦτα πέπονθε.—Ib., p. 288, and Catech. Mystagog. iii. 2. p. 289. καὶ ὥσπερ ὁ Χριστὸς ἀληθῶς ἐσταυροῦτο, καὶ ἐθάπτετο, καὶ ἐγείρετο, ὑμεῖς δὲ κατὰ τὸ βάπτισμα ἐν ὁμοιώματι καὶ συσταυρωθῆναι καὶ συνταφῆναι καὶ συναναστῆναι αὐτῷ καταξιοῦσθε. See also Catech. iv. 6. p. 51, and xiii. 2. p. 168.]

[Quî vero] non hic [id est non intra hunc ambitum terræ nec per hunc commeatum vitæ] nec apud homines hujus naturæ communis confessionem putant constitutam. — Tertull. cont. Gnost., cap. 10. p. 370.

CHAP. VI.

in appearance, would not be persuaded that either He had any need of their lives[f], or indeed expected it from them, being come, as they said, "to save their lives[g]," to die that they might not be killed. Where the mistake was clear and visible, that they thought they were these transitory lives that Christ came to preserve, and not those other lives which were to be conveyed over to eternity.

[Their fate notwithstanding.]

12. The fate of those Gnostics at that time was very remarkable, and that which will render our irrational fondness of these bodily lives yet more irrational. Their great care was to preserve their lives, and their prime dexterity in order to that, to comply constantly with the powerful persecutor; that was, especially, with the Jews, for though the sword was in the heathens' hand, yet the great malice against the Christians was in the synagogue, from thence sprang all the persecutions[h]. To this end those Gnostics took upon them to be great zealots for the Mosaical law of circumcision, and generally pieced with the Jews, and approved themselves to them. At last the Roman army comes against Jerusalem, takes Jews and Gnostics together, and destroys them all: and so Christ was as remarkably a true prophet in that as in any one particular, that "he that would save his life should lose it," that very temporal life, that all his compliance with the Jews was designed to save, "and he that would lose," i. e. venture and "lay down his life for Christ's sake, should find it," i. e. have it more probably preserved and continued to him here, than they that were most solicitous for it, and, whether he lost or kept it here, have it restored to him to continue eternally.

[Luke xvii. 33.]

13. And if that promise of the gospel have truth in any sense of it, then is the command no irrational command, of "taking up the cross to follow Christ," when He can, if it be for thy turn, accept of thy taking up the cross, without its bearing thee; or if He do not, can pay thee abundantly for what thou losest, reward thee with eternity.

[Matt. xvi. 24.]

[f] [Quodsi jam tunc Prodicus aut Valentinus adsisteret, suggerens non in terris esse conandum apud homines quod] nec Deus humanum sanguinem sitiat nec Christus vicem passionis quasi et ipse de ea salutem consecuturus exposcit.]—Ib., cap. 15. p. 388.

[g] Semel Christus pro nobis obiit, semel occisus, ne occideremur: si vicem repetit num et ille salutem de mea nece expectat?—Ib., cap. 1. p. 343.

[h] Synagogas Judæorum, fontes persecutionum. — Tertull. cont. Gnost., cap. 10. p. 374.

14. If I could foresee any other command of Christ could fall under our jealousy and censure, I should proceed to it, and be confident of approving it exactly rational. As it is, I am at an end of my designed method, and am glad it hath been contrived into so small a compass, being now at leisure to retire to my meditations, which will, I hope, be more calm, being thus disburdened; and make it my first theme to discourse with myself, how extremely rational it is that those very turns of providence which have been our great temptation, and, they say, made many atheists among us, should be reviewed again, and upon second demurer thoughts engage and instruct us all to become more Christian.

[Those events which have made atheists should make us more Christian.]

"Who is wise, and he shall understand these things: prudent, and he shall know them? For the ways of the Lord are right, and the just shall walk in them, but the transgressors shall fall therein." Hos. xiv. 9.

OF

FUNDAMENTALS.

IN A NOTION REFERRING TO PRACTICE.

[THIRD EDITION.]

CONTENTS OF FUNDAMENTALS.

PAGE

CHAP. I.—THE NOTATION OF THE WORD FUNDAMENTAL . . 69

CHAP. II.—THE DIVISION OF THE DISCOURSE INTO FOUR PARTS; WHAT ARE FUNDAMENTALS IN GENERAL 76

CHAP. III.—A PARTICULAR VIEW OF FUNDAMENTALS; JESUS CHRIST INDEFINITELY 82

CHAP. IV.—JESUS CHRIST CRUCIFIED 87

CHAP. V.—JESUS CHRIST RAISED, &c. 88

CHAP. VI.—OTHER ARTICLES OF BELIEF IN CHRIST . . . 90

CHAP. VII.—THE FAITH IN BAPTISM 97

CHAP. VIII.—OF THE CREEDS IN GENERAL; AND FIRST, OF THE APOSTLES' CREED 98

CHAP. IX.—OF THE NICENE AND ATHANASIAN CREEDS TOGETHER; AND SEVERALLY OF THE NICENE 110

CHAP. X.—OF THE ATHANASIAN CREED 115

CHAP. XI.—OF THE SUPERSTRUCTURE, AND THE PARTICULAR BRANCHES THEREOF 116

CHAP. XII.—OF THE DOCTRINES THAT HINDER THE SUPERSTRUCTING OF GOOD LIFE ON THE CHRISTIAN BELIEF; FIRST, AMONG THE ROMANISTS, A CATALOGUE OF THEM, ESPECIALLY THAT OF INFALLIBILITY OF THE CHURCH; SECONDLY, AMONG OTHERS, 1. THAT OF THE SOLIFIDIAN 123

CHAP. XIII.—OF THE FIDUCIARY 129

CHAP. XIV.—OF CHRIST'S DYING FOR NONE BUT THE ELECT . 133

CHAP. XV.—OF THE IRRESPECTIVE DECREES OF ELECTION AND REPROBATION 140

CHAP. XVI.—OF THE PREDETERMINATION OF ALL THINGS . 146

CHAP. XVII.—OF THE SPIRIT'S ACTING ALL THINGS WITHIN THE MAN 165

CHAP. XVIII.—OF THE MISTAKES CONCERNING REPENTANCE . 169

CHAP. XIX.—OF THE NECESSARIES TO THE SUPERSTRUCTING OF GOOD LIFE ON THIS FOUNDATION 173

A PRAYER 188

OF

FUNDAMENTALS.

CHAP. I.

THE NOTATION OF THE WORD FUNDAMENTAL.

1. In this enquiry, the literal notation of the word 'fundamentals' must first be examined and resolved on, as the ground-work of this whole discourse. And herein the most advantageous method and least liable to mistake will be to proceed by these degrees.

2. First, that the word foundation being a relative, and, as it is used in our present disquisition, a figurative word, it will be needful to premise wherein this relation, and wherein this figure doth consist, it being evident, what Aristotle saith, that the whole being of any relative is πρός τι, in order to that whereto it hath relation, and so likewise that some primary literal signification is pre-required to that other of metaphorical or figurative. And accordingly it will here be soon resolved, that a foundation, being primarily of use in architecture, hath no other literal notation but what belongs to it in relation to an house or other building, nor figurative but what is founded in that and deduced from thence.

Foundation is a relative and figurative word.

3. But then, secondly, it is not every building to which a foundation refers, some structures being erected without any foundation, but such as is cemented and fastened to some firm, stable body under ground, i. e. to a foundation; we are taught this distinction by our Saviour, that an house may be and is sometimes set upon the sand or upon the earth, and is then said to be χωρὶς θεμελίου, 'without a foundation,' not always ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν, 'upon a rock;' and though the word ᾠκοδόμησε, 'building,' be there used of both those, yet the τεθεμελίωτο, 'being founded,' is applied only to the latter. And the distant fates of those two sorts of houses,

The relation of it to superstructure.

Matt. vii. 26. Luke vi. 49.

Building on the sand, and on a rock.

Matt. vii. 25.

CHAP. I.

plicit, unshaken belief of all that is revealed to him by God, be the strict duty of every Christian, and the disbelieving of any such affirmation of God's, is sin, and damnable, yet the foundation being that which supports the superstructure to which it relates, immediately, and without the intervention of any thing else, it is certain that eternal bliss is not immediately superstructed on the most orthodox beliefs; but, as our Saviour saith, "if ye know these things, happy are ye if ye do them;" the doing must be first superstructed on the knowing or believing, before any happiness, or bliss, or heaven can be built on it: and without all question the *agenda*, 'the things that are to be done,' works of piety and justice, &c., are as necessarily required to found our bliss, to bring us to heaven, as the belief of any the most precious articles can be supposed to be; and therefore it may be justly feared, that the title of fundamentals, being ordinarily bestowed on, and confined to the doctrines of faith, hath occasioned that great scandal, or block of offence in the Church of God, at which so many myriads of Solifidians have stumbled, and fallen irreversibly, by conceiving heaven a reward of true opinions, of which vicious practices, though never so habitually and indulgently continued in to the last, would never be able to deprive them; which as it hath been the disjoining of that καλλίστη συνωρὶς, 'most excellent yoke,' of faith and good works, and hath betrayed many knowing men to most unskilful and ridiculous presumptions, and securities in sin; so can it not well be provided against, without the discovering and renouncing of this false, and substituting a truer state of this question.

The second.

9. Secondly, if this were the notion of fundamentals, there could be no certain way of judging what are such, the excuse of invincible ignorance being, in the far greater number of men, ready to be confronted against the necessity of their believing all the severals of any such supposable catalogue; and for that suppletory of an implicit belief, which is by the Romanists conceived to be of use, and sufficient for those who are not capable of an explicit, whatsoever degree of truth can be conceived to be in that, it must be founded in the contradictory to the present pretension; for were it once granted that the belief of such articles were

fundamental to heaven, it were not imaginable that they which have not heard, should ever arrive thither, when that which by St. Paul's authority is become a known maxim, was before demonstrable in itself, and is so supposed by his argument, that "faith cometh by hearing," and that they cannot believe what they have not heard. Many other inconveniences there are consequent to this stating of this question, and particularly that of which our experience hath given us evident demonstration, that by those which thus state it, there hath never yet been assigned any definite number, or catalogue of fundamentals in this sense; but I shall no further enlarge on them.

Rom. x. 14.

10. The other notion of fundamentals is that whereon I shall more confidently pitch, as that which will remove, instead of multiplying, difficulties, and accord all, which either the Scriptures or the ancients have asserted on this subject, thereby understanding that which was deemed necessary to be laid by the Apostles and other such master builders, as a foundation to the peopling or replenishing, or bringing in proselytes to the Church, and so to the superstructing Christian obedience among men; in which respect it is, that as the Church of Corinth, and so any other society that hath received the faith of Christ, is called *Θεοῦ γεώργιον*, 'God's plantation,' so it is also called *Θεοῦ οἰκοδομή*, 'God's building,' a structure erected by His artificers.

Fundamental to a Church, to piety and Christian life.

1 Cor. iii. 9.

11. That this hath been esteemed the due and proper acception of this word, I shall testify by this one evidence, which I acknowledge to have given me the first hint of this notion, the words of the great champion of the Catholic faith set down in the council of Nice, St. Athanasius, in Epist. ad Epictetum[a], where, speaking of the confession of faith

This notion of fundamental confirmed by St. Athanasius.

[a] [*ἐγὼ μὲν ἐνόμιζον πᾶσαν ματαιολογίαν πάντων ὅσοι δή ποτ' οὖν εἰσιν αἱρετικοὶ πεπαῦσθαι ἐκ τῆς γενομένης ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνόδου, ἡ γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ παρὰ τῶν πατέρων κατὰ τὰς θείας γραφὰς ὁμολογηθεῖσα πίστις, αὐτάρκης ἐστὶ πρὸς ἀνατροπὴν μὲν πάσης ἀσεβείας, πρὸς σύστασιν δὲ τῆς εὐσεβοῦς ἐν Χριστῷ πίστεως· διὰ τοῦτο γοῦν καὶ νῦν διαφόρων γενομένων συνόδων ἔν τε τῇ Γαλλίᾳ καὶ Σπανίᾳ καὶ τῇ μεγάλῃ Ῥώμῃ, πάντες οἱ συνελθόντες τοὺς μὲν ἔτι κρυπτομένους καὶ φρονοῦντας τὰ Ἀρείου, Ἀυξέντιον δὴ λέγω τὸν ἐν Μεδιολάνῳ καὶ Οὐρσάκιον καὶ Οὐάλεντα καὶ Γάϊον ἀπὸ τῆς Παννονίας, παμψηφεὶ ὡς ἀφ' ἑνὸς πνεύματος κινούμενοι ἀνεθεμάτισαν· ἔγραψάν τε παντα-χοῦ διὰ τὸ τοὺς τοιούτους ἐπινοεῖν ἑαυτοῖς ὀνόματα συνόδων, μηδεμίαν ἐν τῇ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ σύνοδον ὀνομάζεσθαι εἰ μὴ μόνην τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ σύνοδον γενομένην, τρόπαιον οὖσαν πάσης μὲν αἱρέσεως, ἐξαιρέτως δὲ τῆς Ἀρειανῆς δι' ἣν μάλιστα καὶ ἡ σύνοδος τότε συνήχθη·*

CHAP. I.

established by the canons of that council against the Arian and other heretics, he hath these words, "Ἡ γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ παρὰ τῶν πατέρων κατὰ τὰς θείας γραφὰς ὁμολογηθεῖσα πίστις αὐτάρκης ἐστὶ πρὸς ἀνατροπὴν μὲν πάσης ἀσεβείας, σύστασιν δὲ εὐσεβείας ἐν Χριστῷ," "The faith confessed by the bishops in that synod according to the divine Scriptures is of itself sufficient for the averting of all impiety, and the establishment of all piety in Christ." These words of that eminent father of the Church might be of some further use toward the due understanding of the articles of the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds, but at the present the advantage of them will be but general, that the way of measuring and defining the necessity of any articles of faith,—the ἀναγκαῖα εἰδέναι, 'necessaries to be known,' as Justin Martyr speaks, παραινετ. p. 9 [C. ed. Par. 1636,] placing under that head, the creation of the world, the framing of man, the immortality of the soul, and judgment to come,—is by the αὐτάρκεια or 'sufficiency' of them to enable the teacher to persuade good life, to supplant those vices which Christ came to banish out of the world, and to radicate those virtues which He came on purpose to implant among men, which is directly that notion or character of fundamentals which we have now given, thereby signifying those articles of the faith on which all the parts of Christian piety and obedience, and none of impiety or disobedience, may be regularly superstructed, or in consequence to which, being once revealed and believed, all rational or considering men, when Christian life is proposed to them, must discern themselves obliged to entertain it, to forsake in every branch their unchristian courses of sin, and to betake themselves to an uniform obedience to the commands of Christ; from whence, I suppose, it is, that the word οἰκοδομεῖν, 'building' or 'edifying,' is used every where in the New Testament for improving or advancing in Christian practice and the duties of good life, as laying the foundation is preaching the faith of Christ among them, on which saith Theophylact[b],

Edifying.

1 Cor. iii. 11.

πῶς τοίνυν ἔτι μετὰ τοσαῦτα ἀμφισβητεῖν ἢ ζητεῖν τινες ἐπιχειροῦσιν;—S. Athanas. ad Epict. Epist. in init., tom. ii. p. 901.]

[b] [μεθ' ὃ δεξόμεθα τὸν θεμέλιον τῆς πίστεως ἐποικοδομοῦμεν ἕκαστος· οἱ μὲν ἀγαθὰς πράξεις, αἵτινες διαφορὰν ἔχουσι, μείζους οὖσαι καὶ ἐλάττους, οἷον τὴν παρθενίαν, ὡς χρυσὸν, τὸν τίμιον γάμον ὡς ἄργυρον, τὴν ἀκτημοσύνην, ὡς λίθους

"After we shall have received the foundation of faith," i. e. the faith of Christ, as the foundation, we build upon it, every one, good actions of all sorts and degrees, as he there specifies, making the Christian actions of life to be the superstructure to which this foundation refers, and in relation to which it is called a foundation. So Theophylact[c] on Heb. vi. 1. makes the *τὸ περὶ πίστεως διδάσκεσθαι*, their being 'instructed in the faith of Christ,' to be *περὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν στρέφεσθαι*, 'to deal only in the beginning,' the elements, the first and most imperfect rudiments, *ὥσπερ εἰσαγωγικούς τινας*, such as novices, beginners, they that are but now upon their entrance, are wont to be conversant in, whereas the superstructing good life on this is, saith he, *ἐπὶ τὴν τελειότητα φέρεσθαι*, 'being carried to perfection;' and again in yet plainer words, *Ἀρχὴ μὲν γὰρ καὶ θεμέλιος ἡ πίστις, καὶ ἄνευ ταύτης οὐδὲν ἑδρασθήσεται, κ.τ.λ.* "The faith is the beginning and the foundation, and that without which nothing shall or will be firmly built;" still making the faith, or belief of the articles the foundation, in respect of the *ἄριστος βίος*, 'the excellent Christian life,' which was by the Apostles and Christ designed to be built on it. To these I shall add the words of St. Augustine, in libell. de Fide et Symbolo, tom. iii. [cap. 25.] *Hæc est fides quæ paucis verbis in symbolo novellis Christianis datur; quæ pauca verba fidelibus nota sunt ut credendo subjugentur Deo, ut subjugati recte vivant, recte vivendo cor mundent, corde mundo quod credunt intelligant:* "This is the faith which being comprised in few words is in the Creed delivered to all young Christians to be held. Which few words are made known to believers to this end, that by

τιμίους, τὴν ἐν πλούτῳ ἐλεημοσύνην ὡς ἄλλο τι τῶν ἧττον τιμίων· οἱ δὲ τὰς πονηρὰς πράξεις ἐποικοδομοῦμεν, αἵτινες καὶ αὐταὶ βαθμοὺς ἔχουσιν, ὡς χόρτον μὲν καὶ καλάμην λέγεσθαι τὰς εὐκολωτέρας πρὸς τὸ καίεσθαι οἷον ἀκαθαρσίαν, εἰδωλολατρείαν, πλεονεξίαν, ξύλα δὲ τὰς ἧττον τοιαύτας, οἷον μέθην, γέλωτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα· ἴσως δέ τινες, τοὐναντίον, ξύλα τὰς προρρηθείσας, χόρτον δὲ καὶ καλάμην ταύτας ἐροῦσιν.—Theophyl. in 1 Epist. ad Cor. iii. 12.]

[c] [*ἢ καὶ οὕτω τοῦτο νοήσεις· ὅτι ἐπειδὴ χωλεύειν περὶ τὴν πολιτείαν οὗτοι ἐδόκουν, λέγει νῦν αὐτοῖς περὶ βίου ἀνεπιλήπτου, ὡσανεὶ τοῦτο λέγων, ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ὑμᾶς ἀεὶ περὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν στρέφεσθαι, τουτέστι περὶ πίστεως διδάσκεσθαι, ὥσπερ εἰσαγωγικούς τινας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἄριστον βίον· τέλειος γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ὃς μετὰ τῆς πίστεως καὶ βίον ἔχει ὀρθόν· ἀρχὴ μὲν γὰρ καὶ θεμέλιος ἡ πίστις καὶ ἄνευ ταύτης οὐδὲν ἑδρασθήσεται, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ἄνευ στοιχείων γένοιτ' ἂν τις ἔμπειρος γραμμάτων· πλὴν οὔτε ἀεὶ περὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα στρέφεσθαι δεῖ, οὔτε ἀεὶ ὡς νηπίους καὶ ἀτελεῖς περὶ πίστεως διδάσκεσθαι.*—Id., in Ep. ad Heb. vi. 1.]

CHAP. I. believing they may be subjected to God, that being subjected to him they may live well, by living well they may cleanse their heart, that by the clean heart they may understand what they believe."

CHAP. II.

THE DIVISION OF THE DISCOURSE INTO FOUR PARTS; WHAT ARE FUNDAMENTALS IN GENERAL.

Four branches of discourse proposed.

1. The notion of the word being now explained, that which is yet behind will be regularly reducible to these four heads; First, what those things are in general, and then in particular, to which this notion of fundamentals belongeth, and withal, what propriety all and each of these have toward the supporting this superstructure, the planting a Church of Christian livers. Secondly, what are the particular branches of this superstructure. Thirdly, what doctrines there are infused among Christians, which are most apt to obstruct or intercept the superstructing of Christian life, where the foundation is laid. Fourthly, what things are necessary to the erecting of this superstructure on this foundation already laid, whether in a particular Christian, or especially in a Church or society of such.

The general way of defining fundamentals, by what the Apostles taught every where.

2. The general way of defining what these fundamentals are, must in all reason be taken from the practice of the Apostles, as the interpreter of God's appointment and judgment in this matter. For it being certain that the Apostles, which had commission from Christ to preach, and admit disciples over all the world, to bring impenitent Jews and idolatrous gentiles to the obedience of Christ, were by Him also directed in their way, counselled in the choice of the fittest means of performing so great a work; the argument will be infallibly conclusive on both sides, positively, and negatively, that whatever the Apostles jointly agreed on, at their entrance on their several provinces, to be the subject of their first sermons in all their travels, that was by them, and consequently by God Himself, deemed fundamental, in our present sense, and whatever was not by them thought

thus necessary, must not by us be obtruded on, or forced into that catalogue.

The foundation laid.

3. For the clearing of this, it is first evident that there was in the Apostles' times such a foundation laid, *θεμέλιος κείμενος*, in every Church, as in that of Corinth, styled *παρακαταθήκη*, 'a good depositum' or trust, which Timothy had received from the Apostles, for the direction of his ministry, *πίστις ἅπαξ παραδοθεῖσα*, 'the faith once,' or at once 'delivered to the saints,' *ὑποτύπωσις ὑγιαινόντων λόγων*, a form, or breviate, or summary of wholesome words, or sound doctrine, which he had heard from St. Paul, *μία πίστις*, 'one faith,' in proportion to which followeth there *ἓν βάπτισμα*, 'one baptism,' wherein there was made profession of that faith, and to which none of years and knowledge was ever admitted, who had not been sufficiently instructed by the catechist in every part of this foundation, which to that end the catechist received from the bishop with his short exposition of it, (see St. Ambrose, Ep. xxxv. l. 5,) and being so instructed made open confession of it, and moreover, by vow obliged himself there, to superstruct all Christian practice upon it.

1 Cor. iii. 11. 1 Tim. vi. 20. Jude 3. 2 Tim. i. 13. Eph. iv. 5.

Approved in common by the Apostles.

4. Secondly, that this was approved of by them in common upon consultation, and so seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to them, in order to their end, the bringing of Jews and gentiles to repentance, and accordingly was left behind them, delivered down to the bishops of all Churches of their plantation, not only as a rule of faith, but as a symbolum, or badge of the Apostles having planted Christianity among them. All which is clearly testified by Tertullian[d],

[d] [Regula quidem fidei una omnino est, sola immobilis et irreformabilis, credendi scilicet in unum Deum omnipotentem, mundi creatorem, et filium ejus Jesum Christum natum ex virgine Maria crucifixum sub Pontio Pilato, tertia die resuscitatum a mortuis, receptum in cœlis, sedentem nunc ad dexteram patris, venturum judicare vivos et mortuos per carnis etiam resurrectionem. Hac lege fidei manente, cætera jam disciplinæ et conversationis, admittunt novitatem correctionis, operante scilicet et proficiente usque in finem gratia Dei. — Tertull. de virgin. veland., c. 1.

Regula est autem fidei ut jam hinc quid defendamus profiteamur, illa scilicet qua creditur unum omnino Deum esse, nec alium præter mundi conditorem qui universa de nihilo produxerit per verbum suum primo omnium emissum: id verbum filius ejus appellatum, in nomine Dei varie visum patriarchis, in prophetis semper auditum, postremo delatum ex spiritu patris Dei et virtute in virginem Mariam, carnem factum in utero ejus et ex ea natum egisse Jesum Christum, exinde prædicasse novam legem et novam promissionem regni cœlorum, virtutes fecisse, fixum cruci, tertia die resurrexisse, in cœlos ereptum, sedere ad dexteram patris, misisse vicariam vim Spi-

CHAP. II.

Irenæus[e], and other the first writers. See Irenæus, lib. i. c. [15 al.] 11, and [22 al.] 19, lib. iii. c. 4. Tertullian de virgin. veland. in the beginning, and de Præscription. throughout.

Comprehensive of all necessaries, to the planting of a Church,

5. Thirdly, that all that was necessary in order to that end, the *μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη*, the 'discipling of all nations,' was comprehended in this form or summary, it being certain that what God did not deem necessary, was not necessary, and that nothing that was so deemed by God, was omitted or left behind by them whose office and care

ritus Sancti, qui credentes agat, venturum eum claritate ad sumendos sanctos in vitæ æternæ et promissorum cœlestium fructum, et ad profanos judicandos igni perpetuo, facta utriusque partis resuscitatione cum carnis restitutione. Hæc regula a Christo ut probabitur instituta, nullas habet apud nos quæstiones nisi quas hæreses inferunt et quæ hæreticos faciunt.—Tertull. de Præscr. Hæret., c. 13.

Age jam qui voles curiositatem melius exercere in negotio salutis tuæ, percurre ecclesias apostolicas apud quas ipsæ adhuc cathedræ apostolorum suis locis præsidentur, apud quas authenticæ literæ eorum recitantur sonantes vocem, repræsentantes faciem. Proxima est tibi Achaia? habes Corinthum: si non longe es a Macedonia, habes Philippos: si potes in Asiam tendere, habes Ephesum. Si autem Italiæ adjiceris habes Romanam, unde nobis quoque auctoritas præsto est statuta. Felix ecclesia cui totam doctrinam Apostoli cum sanguine suo profuderunt, ubi Petrus passioni dominicæ adæquatur, ubi Paulus Johannis exitu coronatur, ubi Apostolus Johannes postea quam in oleum igneum demersus nihil passus est, in insulam relegatur. Videamus quid dixerit, quid docuerit. Cum Africanis quoque ecclesiis contestatur, unum Deum novit, creatorem universitatis, et Christum Jesum ex virgine Maria Filium Dei creatoris, et carnis resurrectionem.—Ib., cap. 36.]

[e] [Cui ordinationi assentiunt multæ gentes barbarorum eorum qui in Christum credunt, sine charta et atramento scriptam habentes per Spiritum in cordibus suis salutem, et veterem traditionem diligenter custodientes; in unum Deum credentes fabricatorem cœli et terræ et omnium quæ in eis sunt per Christum Jesum Dei Filium: qui propter eminentissimam erga figmentum suum dilectionem, eam quæ esset ex Virgine generationem sustinuit ipse per se, hominem adunans Deo, et passus sub Pontio Pilato et resurgens et in claritate receptus, in gloria venturus Salvator eorum qui salvantur, et judex eorum qui judicantur, et mittens in ignem æternum transfiguratores veritatis et contemptores Patris sui et adventus ejus.—S. Iren., lib. iii. cap. iv. sect. 2.

Cum teneamus autem nos regulam veritatis, id est quia sit unus Deus omnipotens qui omnia condidit per verbum suum et fecit ex eo quod non erat, ad hoc ut sint omnia, quemadmodum Scriptura dicit *Verbo enim, Domini cœli firmati sunt, et Spiritu oris ejus omnis virtus eorum.* Et iterum, *Omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil.* (Ex omnibus autem nihil subtractum est, sed omnia per ipsum fecit Pater sive visibilia sive invisibilia, sive sensibilia sive intelligibilia, sive temporalia propter quandam dispositionem sive sempiterna et æonia) non per angelos neque per virtutes aliquas abscissas ab ejus sententia; nihil enim indiget omnino Deus, sed et per verbum et spiritum suum omnia faciens et disponens et gubernans et omnibus esse præstans; hic qui mundum fecit (etenim mundus ex omnibus,) hic qui hominem plasmavit, hic Deus Abraham et Deus Isaac et Deus Jacob, super quem alius Deus non est neque initium neque virtus neque pleroma: hic Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi quemadmodum ostendemus: hanc ergo tenentes regulam, licet valde varia et multa dicant facile eos deviasse a veritate arguimus.—S. Iren., lib. i. cap. xxii. sect. 1.]

it was to declare the whole will of God, and to lead others, as themselves had been led, into all necessary truth.

6. Fourthly, that what we thus affirm of the necessity of these things to the superstructing of Christian practice, must not so be understood, that the hearing and believing of each of them be thought absolutely necessary in every single Jew or heathen, that he may repent, and convert, and live a Christian life, or without which he cannot; but necessary to the discharge of the apostolical office, which was to reap whole fields, to bring in whole cities and nations to Christ.

not to the conversion of every particular person.

7. They that were to plant a Church, were to deal with men of several and distant affections, and tempers, and interests, an heterogeneous body made up of a multitude of various inclinations, and of different habits of sin, and degrees of radication of those habits, and to each of these some proper application was to be made by those that came on Christ's errand to cure their souls,—as Hippocrates advises his physician to have *μαλαγμάτων γένεα*, 'mollifying preparations' for all turns, and to carry them about with him,—and so a whole dispensatory was little enough to meet with, and suffice to all their wants, or at least some catholicon of a transcendent virtue, proportionable to the obstinacy of any the most desperate malady: but this confusion of diseases and rhapsody of difficulties was not to be supposed in each single sinner, and consequently there was not the same necessity of the whole tale of fundamentals, for the converting or reducing of him.

8. There is no doubt but there were reformed Jews before Christ's time, whom the pedagogy and rudiments and imperfect documents of the law, with those influences and assistances of God which were then afforded, brought home unto God, and among them some צדיקים 'righteous,' and some חסידים, 'merciful men,' which had arrived to the abundance of goodness, as they style it. And of this kind were the Esseni[f], who though they be not ordinarily conceived to have been Christians, yet are described by Philo under the

Some Jews reduced to good life without this foundation.

[f] [λέγονταί τινες παρ' αὐτοῖς ὄνομα Ἐσσαῖοι, πλῆθος ὑπὲρ τετρακισχιλίους κατ' ἐμὴν δόξαν, οὐκ ἀκριβεῖ τύπῳ διαλέκτου Ἑλληνικῆς, παρώνυμοι ὁσιότητος· ἐπειδὴ κἂν τοῖς μάλιστα θεραπευταὶ θεοῦ γεγόνασιν, οὐ ζῶα καταθύοντες, ἀλλ' ἱεροπρεπεῖς τὰς ἑαυτῶν διανοίας κατασκευάζειν ἀξιοῦντες.—Philo, tom. ii. p. 457. al. p. 876.]

CHAP. II.

name of *θεραπευταὶ*, so very like Christians, that there is no reason to doubt but that Christian piety might be infused into some, without the explicit knowledge of all and every of those articles, which yet, in general speaking, or as it was to be planted through the world, are rightly deemed and resolved to be fundamental.

Synesius a bishop before he believed the resurrection.

9. Thus it is affirmed by Photius, and Evagrius[g], and hath as much authority as their names can give it, that Synesius had embraced the whole Christian law, so far as to be advanced to the dignity of a bishop, without any clear acknowledging or believing one main part of our foundation, that of the resurrection of the body; and his own 105th Epistle, wherein he so industriously declines the bishopric, hath these words, *Τὴν καθωμιλωμένην ἀνάστασιν ἱερόν τι καὶ ἀπόρρητον ἤγημαι, καὶ πολλοῦ δέω ταῖς τοῦ πλήθους ὑπολήψεσιν ὁμολογῆσαι*, "The resurrection which you preach and publish, I account sacred, and that which cannot be uttered; and I want much of consenting to the persuasions of the multitude in this matter." And though the bishops, that thus advanced him, were questioned, saith Photius, for the

[g] [*ἀνεγνώσθη ἐπισκόπου Κυρήνης, Συνέσιος αὐτῷ ὄνομα, περὶ προνοίας, περὶ βασιλείας καὶ περὶ ἄλλων τινῶν· τὴν μὲν φράσιν ὑψηλὸς καὶ ὄγκον ἔχων, ἀποκλίνων δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ ποιητικώτερον· ἀνεγνώσθησαν δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπιστολαὶ διάφοροι χάριτος καὶ ἡδονῆς ἀποστάζουσαι μετὰ τῆς ἐν τοῖς νοήμασιν ἰσχύος καὶ πυκνότητος· ἦν δ' οὗτος ἐξ Ἑλλήνων, φιλοσοφίᾳ σχολάζων· ὃν φασι πρὸς τὸν θειασμὸν τοῦ χριστιανισμοῦ νεύσαντα, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα παραδέχεσθαι εὐπειθῶς, τὸν δὲ περὶ ἀναστάσεως οὐκ ἐθέλειν προσίεσθαι λόγον· ἀλλ' οὖν καὶ οὕτω διακείμενον, ἐμύησάν τε τὰ ἡμέτερα καὶ ἔτι καὶ ἀρχιερωσύνης ἠξίωσαν πρὸς τὴν ἄλλην τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καλοκαγαθίαν, καὶ τὸ καθαρὸν ἀφορῶντες τοῦ βίου, καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἂν οὕτω βιοὺς ἄνθρωπος, τὸ τῆς ἀναστάσεως οὐκ ἐλλαμφθείη φέγγος· καὶ τῆς ἐλπίδος οὐκ ἐψεύσθησαν· ῥᾳστα γὰρ αὐτῷ, ἐπεὶ ἀρχιεράτευσε καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀναστάσεως εἰς πίστιν ἀποκατέστη δόγμα· ἐπεκόσμει δὲ Κυρήνην ὅτε Θεόφιλος Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπεστάτει.*—Phot. Ep., cod. 26.

οὗτος δὲ ὁ Συνέσιος ἦν μὲν τὰ ἄλλα πάντα λόγιος· φιλοσοφίαν δὲ οὕτως εἰς τὸ ἀκρότατον ἐξήσκησεν ὡς καὶ παρὰ Χριστιανῶν θαυμασθῆναι τῶν μὴ προσπαθείᾳ ἢ ἀντιπαθείᾳ κρινόντων τὰ ὁρώμενα· πείθουσι δ' οὖν αὐτὸν τῆς σωτηριώδους παλιγγενεσίας ἀξιωθῆναι καὶ τὸν ζύγον τῆς ἱερωσύνης ὑπελθεῖν, οὕπω τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀναστάσεως παραδεχόμενον οὐδὲ δοξάζειν ἐθέλοντα, εὐθυβόλως εὖ μάλα στοχασάμενοι, ὡς ταῖς ἄλλαις τἀνδρὸς ἀρεταῖς ἕψεται καὶ ταῦτα, τῆς θείας χάριτος μηδὲν ἐλλειπὲς ἔχειν ἀνεχομένης· καὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσθησαν τῆς ἐλπίδος, οἷος γὰρ καὶ ὅσος γέγονε τεκμηριοῦσι μὲν αἱ κομψῶς αὐτῷ καὶ λογίως μετὰ τὴν ἱερωσύνην πεποιημέναι ἐπιστολαί, ὅ τε πρὸς αὐτὸν Θεοδόσιον προσφωνητικὸς λόγος, καὶ ὅσα τῶν ἐκείνου χρηστῶν φέρεται πόνων.—Evagrius, lib. i. cap. 15.

The account in Photius, as well as that of Nicephorus, lib. xiv. cap. 55, is taken from Evagrius. Photius wrongly calls him bishop of Cyrene. He was a native of Cyrene, and bishop of Ptolemais. See the notes in the passage of Evagrius in Valesius' edition, and the Dissertation of Lucas Holstenius in the same volume, for an account of this singular transaction. The letter of Synesius, addressed to Enopius, is given by Nicephorus in his account of the affair.]

fact, yet that is no prejudice to what we now observe from this example, viz., the possibility of the thing. Of which also those bishops' answer is a further testimony, viz., that they saw such excellent graces in him, that they could not imagine that God would long defer to crown them with the addition of this eminent branch of Christian faith, the clear belief and acknowledgment of the resurrection ; and as that fell out according to their expectation, so it is thereby evident, that that branch of belief was in him supervenient to Christian practice, and not all Christian practice built on that.

10. Nay, supposing that he that hath not been instructed sufficiently in all and each branch of the foundation, were yet with fewer helps brought to the sincere undertaking of the whole Christian obedience, as if a catechumenus before every one of these articles were explained unto him, should yet resolve, upon reading the sermon on the mount, to live a life of the greatest Christian perfection, this person were not in any reason to suffer any diminution, to be deemed the worse, but rather the better for that, as they, that "having not the law, do yet by nature the things of the law," are far from being disparaged by the Apostle, nay, *θαυμαστοί τινές εἰσι*, saith Theophylact[h], are looked on as admirable persons, *ὅτι τοῦ νόμου οὐκ ἐδεήθησαν, καὶ τὸν νόμον ἐπλήρωσαν*, "that they wanted not the law, and yet fulfilled the law;" the danger being certainly very great to them, that by force of all the divine articles of our faith are not reduced to Christian purity, and not to them, who on a weaker foundation do yet stand firmly rooted, and grounded in the love of Christ.

[Rom. ii. 14.]

11. And this is agreeable to what was premised of the nature of a foundation in a material building, that though a tabernacle or moveable building may, yet a temple or stable edifice cannot be supposed to be built and stand firm without an entire foundation, and consequently that this

[h] [*ὡς γὰρ ἐπαίρων καὶ μεγαλύνων τὸν νόμον, φησὶν ὅτι οἱ μὴ νόμον ἔχοντες, τὰ δὲ τοῦ νόμου ποιοῦντες φύσει, ἀντὶ τοῦ τοῖς ἐκ φύσεως λογισμοῖς πειθόμενοι, θαυμαστοί τινές εἰσιν, ὅτι τοῦ νόμου οὐκ ἐδεήθησαν καὶ τὸν νόμον ἐπλήρωσαν, οὐ γράμματα ἀλλ' ἔργα ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν ἐγκολάψαντες καὶ τῷ συνειδότι, καὶ τοῖς φυσικοῖς λογισμοῖς ἀντὶ τοῦ νόμου χρώμενοι εἰς μαρτυρίαν τοῦ καλοῦ.* —Theophyl. in Ep. ad Rom. ii. 15.]

CHAP. II. summary of wholesome words is necessary to the architects, in order to their superstructing a pile, their planting a Church of Jews and gentiles, though not absolutely so, for the reducing of each single person.

CHAP. III.

A PARTICULAR VIEW OF FUNDAMENTALS, JESUS CHRIST INDEFINITELY.

Jesus Christ the foundation.

1. I NOW proceed to a more particular view of this foundation, which is sometimes most compendiously set down in Scripture, either under the abbreviature of Jesus Christ, or with the addition of His crucifixion or resurrection, or other remarkable passages concerning Him; or else more largely and explicitly in the creeds or confessions of the universal Church.

2. For the more compendious, it is St. Paul's affirmation, that Jesus Christ is the one only foundation, and no man can lay ἄλλον θεμέλιον, 'any other,' which is the interpretation of what is elsewhere said, that Jesus Christ Himself is λίθος ἀκρογωνιαῖος, 'the chief corner-stone,' or again the κεφαλὴ γωνίας, 'head of the corner,' the principal supporter, on which the weight of the structure rests, the foundation of the foundation.

1 Cor. iii. 11.

[Eph. ii. 20.]

[Matt. xxi. 42.]

3. In proportion to which it is that the deceivers, or false teachers, or Antichrists, are expressed by this character, "they that confess not Jesus Christ coming in the flesh." This one being a comprehensive article that supposes and contains all others under it.

2 John 7.

4. For besides that the Jews to whom the gospel was first to be preached, and to some of whom this character of Antichrist was given, believed in the one Creator of the world already, and so that article concerning the Deity, and the attributes thereof needed not be preached either to them or to their proselytes from the gentiles; it is further manifest that the belief of Christ being founded on the testimony of the Father, and the doctrine of Christ containing in it the declaration and manifestation of the knowledge of the

Matt. iii. 17.

Father, so as He was never known to the world before this Son out of His bosom thus revealed Him, the belief of Christ must necessarily suppose and pre-require the belief of the Father, and therefore it follows in St. John, that He which "abides in the doctrine of Christ," *οὗτος καὶ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἔχει*, "He hath both the Father and the Son." CHAP. III. 2 John 9.

5. So again the miracles which Christ did were done in His Father's name, and thereby gave all that testimony to His doctrines of piety and reformation, which the Father's proclaiming them from heaven would have been able to do.

6. And that being thus supposed of all in gross, and so giving a full authority to all that should be revealed by Christ, the several parts of the revelations afforded us by Him will soon be discerned to be extremely conducible to this end of reforming men's lives, such as will answer all imaginable objections and exceptions of flesh and blood against it, and make it perfectly reasonable for any rational creature to undertake the service of Christ, and most extremely irrational and unmanly to seek out or to continue in any other service.

7. Such are Christ's promises, divine, inconceivable promises, a bliss to be enjoyed to all eternity, and that by way of return for a weak obedience of some few years; such are His threatenings, most formidable menaces of endless woe, to them that will still "despise the riches of His goodness and forbearance;" such is the treaty which He negotiates with us, an offer and tender of a reconciliation, a *πάρεσις*, an act of oblivion, of all forepast sins, and of a new covenant, on most moderate, easy terms of sincere (without unsinning) obedience for the future; and lastly, such are His precepts, a sort of commandments, which are most agreeable, and grateful to our reasonable nature, and which tend, beyond all other means or instruments, to the improving and perfecting the most valuable part of us, that which alone denominates us men, and annexing incomprehensible rewards, "an eternal weight of glory," to the bare practice of those things, which are at the very present, though they were not commanded, and if they should not be rewarded in another life,—I mean abstractively from these enhancements of them,—infinitely esteemable and preferable before [2 Cor. iv. 17.]

CHAP. III.

the contraries, which must further cost us so extremely dear, if we will choose and pitch our design upon them, and resolve to go through with that unthrifty purchase.

8. So that this one corner-stone, Jesus Christ, is a most competent, ample foundation, on which to superstruct the largest pile of building, to erect a Church of pious livers, and to bring all rational men within the compass of it, and it is not imaginable what could have been added to this, or what method could probably have been effectual to any man, which is not wrought on by the concurrence of all these.

The Christian foundation compared with the natural.

9. This will more evidently appear, if we compare this one with all other ways which have been used at any time toward this end of inducing, and obliging, and engaging men to good life.

10. In the course of nature,—the first way of economy, under which the world was governed, by a law written in men's hearts, *naturale judicatorium*, *lumen super nos signatum*, 'a natural judicatory, a light sealed upon us,' in our first composure,—though there were a competent revelation of our duty, and a double obligation to perform it, 1. that of piety to our Maker, 2. that of reverence to our own souls, the *ἡγεμονικὸν*, the superior ruling part of us, and these two improvable into many other, and thus actually advanced and improved by natural men, upon study and consideration,—and so all the heathen wisdom was the further explaining of those obligations, their natural philosophy was but a kind of comment on the creation, and is therefore by the Jews entitled בראשית, the first word of the book of Genesis, that story of the creation, and that a most proper ground-work of obedience to that Almighty Creator; and their moral philosophy, especially that of Epicurus, a consideration of the most ravishing beauty and delight and joy, the result of the practice of every virtue, that of Socrates[i], which had the oracle's testimony and admiration, a comment on the *γνῶθι σεαυτὸν*, 'the knowledge of a man's self,' that of Pythagoras[k] on the *αἰσχύνεο σαυτὸν*, 'the revering of a man's self,' and that of Aristotle[l], the placing of all human felicity in con-

[i] [*γνῶθι σεαυτὸν* is attributed by Diogenes Laertius, lib. i. cap. 1. sect. 13, to Thales.]

[k] [Pythag. Carm. Aur. 12.]

[l] [Aristot. Eth. Nicom., lib. i. cap. 7.]

tinued actions of virtue, and that also a foundation very fit to superstruct virtue upon,—yet there were great defects and vacuities and imperfections in this economy.

11. First, the prescribed duties wanted of their full stature, especially if compared with Christ's πλήρωσις, His suppletories and superadditions.

12. Secondly, there remained very advantageous accesses for temptations to enter and invade men, the fortifications being very slender to secure their resistance, little knowledge of the immortality of the soul, or any thing beyond this life, whether reward or punishment, no assurance that repentance would be admitted for any sin, an absolute desperation of any good without the help of purgatives, and a perfect ignorance of all means of purging, and many other such wants, which are all abundantly supplied in the Christian's foundation, Jesus Christ.

13. And upon that account the Apostle could safely challenge the wise men of the heathen world with his ποῦ σοφός; 'where is the wise man of the world?' Let all the philosophers, moralists or naturalists, bring forth their richest provisions, shew such engines of approach and battery, for the supplanting or beating down of vicious life, for the engaging men to reform, and live like men, as this foolishness of preaching, this despised, but saving doctrine of the gospel hath afforded us. 1 Cor. i. 20.

14. So likewise for the Judaical or Mosaical economy, though that brought many additions to the light of nature, and was a σκιαγραφία, an obscure representation as of that gospel, and promises of everlasting life, so of those precepts which are now most clearly revealed by Christ, yet was that obscurity a very great defect, the shadow was so extremely dark, that the vices of men made advantage of it to shroud and secure them in their sins. With the Judaical.

15. The ceremony and law of circumcision, &c., which was meant by God sacramentally to impress the duty of strict purity, to cut off the περισσείαν κακίας, the 'superfluity of naughtiness,' all inordinate excessive lusts of the flesh, was yet but a character impressed on the flesh, and did not explicitly descend to the prohibiting of the desires, but was on the contrary made advantage of by lust, and the outward Rom. vii. 8.

CHAP. III.

circumcision in the body of a child of Abraham was thought to commute for all impurity.

16. So again the phylacteries, on their wrists and foreheads were looked on as spells and charms, which would yield them impunity for their disobedience: and the strict ordinances against conversing with gentiles, lest they should learn and join in their abominations, bred more of pride, and contempt, and uncharitableness to their persons, than of alienation or detestation of their sins.

17. And so that way of economy, in many respects, was not ἄμεμπτος, 'blameless;' the clear commands and the explicit promises of Christ and the proclaimed necessity of real substantial fruits of repentance, instead of the leaves, the arrogance, and hypocrisy of external performances, were a necessary suppletory to the law of Moses, and to that may belong also the Apostle's ποῦ γραμματεύς; ποῦ συζητητὴς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου; let all the scribes, or doctors of the law, the searchers or profound interpreters of the Scriptures, bring forth such evidences of their efficacy, or good successes in the reforming and purifying of men's lives, as the Apostles had done by these so contemptible despicable means, the gospel of the cross of Christ.

[1 Cor. i. 20.]

With the heathen and Mahomedan.

18. I might further extend the comparison to all possible pretenders, the idolatrous heathens, the corrupters of the law of nature, and the Mahomedans, that have superstructed on, and added to the law of Moses; but both of these are so scandalously known to have laid grounds for all impurity, the former in their mysteries and devotions, the latter in their sensual carnal paradise, the one allowing it their votaries in the present possession, the other promising it them in a reversion, that I shall not need enlarge on so remote considerations, but conclude and shut up all that might be said on this subject, with that judgment of an heathen philosopher past on this matter, Chalcidius in his comment on Plato's Timæus, whose writings have come to us only in Latin, *ratio Dei* (no question in the original, λόγος Θεοῦ in St. John's style) *Deus est, humanis rebus consulens, quæ causa est hominibus bene beateque vivendi, si non concessum sibi munus summo a Deo negligant*[m]. "The reason, or

[m] [Chalcidius in Platonis Timæum, p. 135.]

word of God, is God taking care of human affairs, and is the cause unto men of their living well and happily, if they do not neglect that gift granted by the supreme God." A saying that contains in it the sum of our Christian gospel, which, it seems by this and other passages, he had gotten a sight of, and understood in the simplicity of it, that Christ the eternal Word or reason of His Father, had two great designs in His prospect, effects of His providence and care of mankind, the first to bring men to good life, to reformation of every evil course, subduing of passions, &c., the second to render them happy here by so doing, and blessed eternally, and this managed so powerfully and effectually for them, that nothing, but their own stupid and obstinate negligence and contempt of this divine donative, can deprive them of these benefits of it.

CHAP. IV.

JESUS CHRIST CRUCIFIED.

1. And as Jesus Christ indefinitely taken is set down to be this foundation, so elsewhere is 'Jesus Christ crucified,' and accordingly the whole gospel is styled λόγος ὁ τοῦ σταυροῦ, 'the word which is of the cross of Christ,' and that, supposing it be believed sufficient to superstruct on it the conversion of the whole world to a new and Christian life, and accordingly it is there styled τοῖς σωζομένοις ἡμῖν δύναμις Θεοῦ, 'to those that escape' out of the deluge of infidelity, the very 'power of God,' and 'the power of God, and the wisdom of God,' the powerfullest and wisest method toward the accomplishing of this work, which is further explained by δύναμις εἰς σωτηρίαν, "the power of God to salvation to every one that believeth, to the Jew first, and also to the gentile." If this doctrine of the cross be once received, there is no more wanting to engage and oblige all rational men to that renovation of their lives, which is oft called σωτηρία, 'saving' or 'delivering' them out of their evil ways, and will assuredly bring them to salvation, in the notion wherein we vulgarly take it.

Christ crucified the foundation. 1 Cor. i. 23; ii. 2.

ch. i. 18.

ver. 24.

Rom. i. 16.

CHAP. IV.

What propriety the cross hath to this.

2. That the cross of Christ hath this propriety may appear by these five effects or branches of it. 1. It is the highest confirmation imaginable of the truth of all that He had delivered from His Father, He laid down His life for the testifying of it. 2. It is the exemplifying—and that is the most rhetorical argument, the most powerful way of persuading—the highest and hardest part of the Christian's duty, that of laying down our lives for the truth; 'resisting unto blood in our τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς Ὀλύμπια, 'our spiritual Olympics,' our 'striving against sin.' 3. It is a sealing that covenant betwixt God and us, which He came to preach, a covenant of mercy, and pardon, and everlasting salvation to all that perform the condition of it, and to none else, and that is of all others the greatest and most effectual engagement to that performance. 4. It is the sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, the λύτρον or 'means of expiation,' or pardon, upon our unfeigned return and change, and that is absolutely necessary to found our hope, as that hope is necessary to excite our endeavours. 5. It was the ceremony of consecrating Christ our High-Priest, to His great Melchisedekian office of blessing us, in which, as His resurrection instated Him, so that was by way of reward to His sufferings, and so all that sufficiency of strength which is required for the turning every one from iniquity, being an effect of that blessing of His, the doctrine of His death, from the merit whereof this quickening power doth flow, is a foundation of all cheerful attending on His service, to which He is so sure to afford His assistance.

Phil. ii. 9.

Acts iii. 26.

CHAP. V.

JESUS CHRIST RAISED, &c.

Christ's resurrection the foundation, Rom. x. 9.

1. Elsewhere this foundation is determined to one other single article, that of the resurrection of Christ, which supposing and comprehending the crucifixion under it, and being visibly and undeniably wrought by the immediate and omnipotent power of God, and not imputable to any

other possible means, was a most illustrious testimony and conviction of the innocency of Christ, thus signally vindicated and rewarded by God, and consequently a confirmation of the truth of all that He had taught, and thus signed with the effusion of His blood.

an argument of the greatest conviction.

2. Of this one article it is our Saviour's affirmation that it was so full matter of conviction to all gainsayers, that they which should not be wrought upon by that, were to expect no further signs or miracles; and the design of the Holy Ghost's coming upon the Apostles being to fit them for the great work for which Christ had given them commission, the testifying and proclaiming His resurrection, from thence arises the aggravation and irremissibleness of the sin against the Holy Ghost, who had so abundantly convinced the world of Christ's righteousness by His arising and going to His Father. And accordingly in the preaching of St. Peter, this was the doctrine that with such an emphasis he inculcated upon them, "men of Israel, hear these words. . . . Jesus of Nazareth . . . . ye have nailed with wicked hands and killed, whom God hath raised up," &c.; and "this Jesus hath God raised up," οὗ πάντες ἡμεῖς μάρτυρες, "of which we all are witnesses," or, "whose witnesses we all are," and so "made Him Lord and Christ," "and when they heard this they were pricked at the heart, and said, Men and brethren, what shall we do?" and upon this one foundation he immediately superstructs the exhortation to repentance, and coming in by baptism unto Christ, and three thousand were that day wrought on by that method.

Acts ii. [14, sqq.]
ver. 22.
ver. 24.
ver. 32.
ver. 36.
ver. 37.
ver. 41.

A pawn of our resurrection corporal and spiritual.

3. Beside this, the resurrection of Christ was a peculiar pawn and pledge of God's raising up our bodies out of the grave, and, before that time comes, of His quickening our souls out of the most noisome vaults, the habits and customs of sin, wherein they lay putrified, this being an act of the same omnipotent Spirit, by which He raised up Jesus from the dead, and without which it were as hopeless an attempt for sinners to go about to rise to new life, as it were for dead men to raise themselves out of their graves. And consequently the belief of this, was, in the former of these respects, of special importance to confirm our hopes of another life, on which so many branches of Christian piety

CHAP. V.

so immediately depend, that especially of laying down our lives for Christ's sake, that if our hope in Christ were only that of this life, we could never espouse so cold a service; and in the latter respect it was most proper to quicken our hopes, that upon our awaking at Christ's call, and arising like Lazarus out of our graves of sin, that Christ, which gives us life, would command us to be loosed from our grave-clothes, rescue us by the power of His Spirit from the bands and power of sin, and enable us to live christianly; which we could not hope to do without this power of His Spirit, to prevent and assist us, nor reasonably attempt to do without this hope.

An example of new life to us.

4. Further yet, the resurrection of Christ hath the power of a pattern to us, and is so made use of, and typified in baptism, as an engagement and obligation to us to transcribe that divine copy into our hearts, and to rise to newness of life. And accordingly that seems to be the import-

Rom. x. 9.

ance of the phrase, "believing in the heart that God raised Christ from the dead," there being no more necessary to the superstructing all piety on that one foundation, but to sink down the belief of that one article from the brain to the heart, to reduce it effectually to practice.

CHAP. VI.

OTHER ARTICLES OF BELIEF IN CHRIST.

The mystery of godliness.

1 Tim. iii. 16.

1. BESIDE these two, a whole catalogue and climax of articles we have set down, "made manifest in" or "by the flesh, justified by the Spirit, seen of angels, preached among the gentiles, believed on in the world, received up with glory." And these all together seem to be that *ἀλήθεια*,

ver. 15.

'truth,' as elsewhere faith, of which the Church was *στύλος καὶ ἑδραίωμα*, 'a pillar and establishment,' to sustain and keep it, as a pillar firmly set up on the basis sustains and upholds the fabric laid upon it, from sinking or falling; for so this truth deposited in the Church, or with the governors thereof, such as Timothy there, was to be conserved and up-

held by that means. And it is further observable in that place, that it is called *μέγα τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον*, 'the mystery of piety,' and that a great one, signifying the price and value of these articles principally to consist in this, that they tend mightily to the begetting of piety in our hearts, and so are the *μυστήριον*, the 'articles' of our initiation, or of our religion into which we are initiated by baptism, as the foundation on which all our Christian practice, which alone deserves the name of piety, and is opposed to *ἀσέβεια*, 'impiety,' is superstructed and built afterward.

God made manifest by the flesh.

2. This will be more visible by surveying the severals, 1. *Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκὶ*, "God manifest by the flesh." God was so intent upon this work of revealing and declaring His will to men, in order to bringing home sinners to repentance, so very desirous that men should reform and live, and not sin and perish eternally, that to enforce this on us at the greatest possible advantage, He was pleased Himself to assume, and manifest His will, in, or by our flesh, and so, not only God from heaven, but God visible on earth, to preach reformation among us; and if this be not able to make impression on us, it is not imaginable that all the preaching of men or angels, that any inferior method should be of force to do it. From whence it was, that all the devil's countermines in the first ages were designed purposely against this one article, the deity or Godhead of Christ incarnate, making all that He did and suffered here an appearance, no reality, in opposition to which is the *ἀληθῶς* and *ὄντως* so oft repeated by Ignatius[n], the reality and verity of Christ's eating, and suffering, and rising, &c.; and every branch of such heresy took off, as far as it was believed, from the necessity of Christian life, not only by implying Him to be an impostor, if He were not truly what He oft affirmed Himself, and was by the Apostles affirmed to be, the Messias, i. e. the 'eternal Son of God,' and 'God blessed for ever,' but by evacuating that great obligation, and engagement to reform our lives, taken from the authority and Godhead of Him that had sought and solicited

[n] [Vide S. Ignat. ad Magn. 11, ad Trall. 9, ad Smyrn. 1. 2, Fragm. 8. The word *ὄντως* does not occur in the genuine remains of St. Ignatius. In the passage first referred to, the expression is *ἀληθῶς καὶ βεβαίως*.]

CHAP. VI.

it so earnestly, and came down from heaven and assumed our flesh upon that one errand or embassy to reveal Himself more convincingly among us.

3. Had it been only a prophet, though never so great and extraordinarily furnished with signs and wonders, he had been but a servant of God, and there were many experiences and precedents among their forefathers of the resisting of such; but the personal descent of God Himself, and His assumption of our flesh to His divinity, more familiarly to insinuate His pleasure to us, to admonish, and invite, and denounce judgments, and even to weep over those that would yet be obstinate, was an enforcement beyond all the methods of wisdom that were ever made use of in the world.

4. For God, I say, Himself to do all this, and to descend so low, to so mean an estate, and to a much meaner usage, a shameful contumelious death, to work this work most effectually upon men, was a wonderful act of grace and wisdom, a secret, a mystery indeed beyond all former ways, infinitely considerable towards this of turning from every evil.

The Arians' doctrines against it.

5. And upon this score the doctrine of the ancient and modern Arians and Photinians, which so industriously lessens the divinity of Christ in pretence of zeal to God the Father, to whom they will not permit Him to be equal, must consequently take off extremely from this mystery of piety, this foundation of a good life, laid in the eternal God's coming down to preach it to us. And as it is a direct contradiction to those places wherein Christ is called God, wherein He and His Father are affirmed to be one, wherein the known title of the God of Israel,—never named in their services but it was answered by all with ברוך שם εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, 'God blessed for ever,'—is by the Apostle attributed to Christ; and which, as Proclus[o]

Acts xx. 28; Tit. ii. 13.

John x. 30; 1 John v. 7.

Rom. ix. 5; Heb. xiii. 21; 1 Pet. iv. 11; v. 11; 2 Pet. iii. 18; Rev. i. 6.

[o] [ποίαν παρείσδυσιν συκοφαντίας οὐκ ἀποτειχίζει τὰ Παύλου ῥήματα τοῖς φιλολοιδόροις; εἶπεν αὐτὸν Χριστὸν, ἵνα δείξῃ ὅτι κατὰ ἀλήθειαν γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος· εἶπεν αὐτὸν ἐξ Ἰουδαίων τὸ κατὰ σάρκα, ἵνα δείξῃ ὅτι οὐκ ἀφ' οὗ ἐσαρκώθη ἐκ τότε μόνον ὑπάρχει· εἶπεν αὐτὸν ὄντα, ἵνα ἄναρχον βροντήσῃ· εἶπεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πάντων, ἵνα τῆς κτίσεως δεσπότην κηρύξῃ· εἶπεν αὐτὸν Θεὸν, ἵνα μὴ πρὸς τὰ πάθη καὶ τὸ σχῆμα δελεασθέντες τὴν ἀνώλεθρον αὐτοῦ ἀρνησώμεθα φύσιν· εἶπεν αὐτὸν εὐλογητὸν, ἵνα ὡς παντοκράτορα προσκυνήσωμεν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς σύνδουλον συκοφαντῶμεν· εἶπεν αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἵνα δείξῃ ὅτιπερ ὁ λόγῳ τούτους δημιουργήσας, διδίως ἐν αὐτοῖς θεολογεῖται. — Proclus, Epist. ii. ad Armenios] de fide [cap. 14.]

saith, "convinceth all the heresies concerning Christ, καὶ ἀποτειχίζει, and walls up the newly invented ways of injury and contumely against Him;" so it is a great diminution and abatement of the force of that fundamental argument whereon God thought fit that the renovation of the world should be superstructed; and how much soever the contrary heretics the modern Socinians have pretended to the maintenance of piety, it is certain they have by this taken out one principal stone from the foundation of it, the Θεὸς φανερωθεὶς ἐν σαρκὶ here, "God made manifest by the flesh," which could not be affirmed of Christ, if He were not first God, before He was thus made manifest by the means of His incarnation.

God justified by the Spirit.

5. The next stone in this foundation is, Θεὸς ἐδικαιώθη ἐν πνεύματι, God's having been justified by the Spirit, i. e. the several ways of conviction which were used in the world by the Spirit of God to give authority to all that was revealed by Christ, as the will and commands of God. Such was 1. the visible descent of the Spirit of God upon Him at His baptism, which, as preparative to His entering on the exercise of His prophetic office, was the divine attestation given from heaven by voice to all that He should ever teach.

Matt. iii. [16.] Matt. v. [vi. vii.]

6. Secondly, such was the Spirit's leading Him into the wilderness, to subject Him to the devil's examination, and thereby to give grounds of conviction to him and those infernal powers, that He was the Son of God.

Matt. iv. [1.]

7. Thirdly, such was His power of doing miracles, works of that nature as were by all acknowledged to be above the power of men or devils, and only works of the Spirit of God; thus was His curing of leprosy, of which the king of Israel saith, "Am I a God, that this man sends to me to recover a man of his leprosy?" and which the Jews proverbially called the 'finger of God,' and is therefore said to be done εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς, "for a testimony unto them," an evidence of His divinity; thus the giving sight to him that was born blind, which since the world began had not been heard of to be done by any; thus the raising of Lazarus and others, and at last His own resurrection from the grave; all which being wrought by the Spirit of God, and being not otherwise possible to be done by any, were the δικαίωσις, or 'judicial' way of approving His commission from God, and His

2 Kings v. 7.

Matt. viii. 4.

John ix. 32.

CHAP. VI.

doctrine, against all gainsayers, and so most eminently tends to the impressing the necessity of that reformation which He came to publish.

8. Fourthly, such was the descent of the Spirit on the Apostles, authorizing them witnesses of the resurrection, and preachers of all that truth and will of God which Christ had in His life revealed to them, which consequently gave an attestation to all that the Apostles should teach, being thus led by the Spirit into all truth, and so was of special concernment to the planting of a Church, and enforcing that reformation of lives which the Apostles pressed on all that would not be ruined eternally.

God seen by angels.

9. The third branch of this mysterious divine way of working piety on earth, is the ὤφθη ἀγγέλοις, His being "seen by angels," i. e. His divine power discerned and acknowledged and adored by angels themselves, both good and bad; by the good, 1. at His birth; secondly, when after His temptation and fasting they came and "ministered unto Him;" thirdly, in the trouble and agony of His soul, before His death; fourthly, at, and after His resurrection. And by the bad, both when He was tempted, and when He cast them out of their possessions, obeying His command, dreading His power, and believing and confessing Him the Son of God most high; and when immediately upon His birth, the oracles, which had before so flourished among the heathens, began to droop and decay, and from giving responses in verse, descended to prose, and within a while were utterly silenced. Which as it was a most regular means to bring all sorts of men, heathens as well as Jews, to reformation of all vices, those especially, which they were formerly taught in their idolatrous worships, and were enslaved to them unwillingly by the tyranny of those false gods or devils, which required to be thus worshipped, and so continued to do till they were cast out of their temples; so was it a huge obligation on all men to receive and obey Him whom the very devils believed and trembled at, and a testimony of the greatest force in the mouth of a whole province of His greatest enemies, that He was, what He assumed to be, the Messias of the world, who if He were not received by consent and readily obeyed, would erect His kingdom in the destruction of those enemies, (an essay of

Luke ii. 13. Matt. iv. 11. John xii. 29; Luke xxii. 43. Matt. xxviii. 2.

Rom. viii. 20.

which was thus shewn on the prince of darkness,) avenge and utterly consume the adversaries.

Preached among the gentiles.

10. The fourth is, the ἐκηρύχθη ἐν ἔθνεσιν, His being "preached among the gentiles," or idolatrous nations of the world. The message brought by Him from heaven was proclaimed not only to the Jews, but, both by Himself and by the Apostles, to all the gentiles, those that till then had lived in all villany and impiety, and yet had now by Christ mercy tendered them upon reformation, (and thereby is all encouragement afforded to the greatest sinners, to forsake and amend their lives,) and by God's merciful pardon to the times of their ignorance and forepassed sins, a passage opened to life and eternity, for all that will make use of it; and this is the greatest engagement to do so, and not to forfeit and lose so precious an opportunity.

Believed on among men.

The Jews.

[Matt. xxiii. 37.]

Acts ii. 41.

Acts xxi. 20.

Rev. vii. [4.]

11. The fifth branch is the ἐπιστεύθη ἐν κόσμῳ, His being "believed on in the world," the faith of Christ received by many both Jews and Gentiles; of that people of the Jews— a most stubborn, obdurate people, that had "killed the prophets, and stoned them that were sent,"—some considerable number repented and came in upon Christ's preaching, about three thousand were added to the faith at one sermon, before the Apostles' going out from Jerusalem,—which wants but a seventh part of being half the number of those reserved ones of the whole kingdom of the ten tribes, in Elijah's time, which had secretly kept out of that idol-Baal-worship,—and so proportionably at other sermons, so that we hear of many myriads of believing Jews, and, taking out of these the gnostic heretical party, a hundred and forty-four thousand sealed out of the twelve tribes as faithful servants of God, which had received the faith of Christ, and brought forth fruit accordingly, and that, though but a small number in proportion to the greater that remained obstinate, yet above twenty times as many as they in Elijah's time; and when the greater multitude was so terribly destroyed, then the believers of that nation were the only *κατάλειμμα* or 'remnant' of it, and in a manner that whole people, by the conversion of some, and slaughter of the rest, were soon after, though not at the time of the Apostles resolving on this *depositum*, reduced to the faith, and became Christian.

The gentiles.

Acts ii. 11

12. And for the gentiles, they were contained in the

CHAP. VI.

number of those which were present at that sermon, and no doubt some of them were wrought on by it, as even in Christ's time, the gentiles' faith is magnified for great, and above the size of what he had found in Israel, and they were peculiarly the violent that took the kingdom of heaven by force, whilst the children of the kingdom neglected, and were cast out of it; and soon after the Apostles' going out and preaching to all nations, they willingly received the faith, and forsook their idols, and within a while all Asia, by St. Paul's preaching, and other whole nations by each of the other Apostles, and at length the whole Roman empire, became Christian, and the "kingdoms of the world became the kingdoms of our Lord and of His Christ," and the kings of the earth and of the nations "brought their glory to the Lamb;" and as among the Jews, so all the world over, those that received not the commands of Christ, and His doctrines of purity and perseverance, were signally destroyed, and they that did were preserved as a peculiar people unto Him, to live, and continue in His obedience.

Acts xix.

Rev. xi. 15.

Rev. xxi. 24, 26; and to the same purpose Rev. xvii. 14; and xix. 16.

13. And this great success on both sides, among Jews and gentiles over all the world—part of it historically true at the compiling of these articles, and part of it prophetically true then, and fulfilled afterward, the subduing them either by the word of His mouth, the preaching of the gospel, or by the word of His power, the destructions which He sent among them—was a most effectual argument, a sovereign method to give authority to this faith, which was thus prevailing, and becomes the greatest instance of reproach to all libertine professors, that they should not purify their hearts by the faith, when the most impure idolaters were wrought on to do so, and a sad certain abode to all such, after the example of obstinate infidels and impure Gnostics, of both present and future destructions.

Received up into glory.

14. The sixth and last stone in this foundation is the ἀνελήφθη ἐν δόξῃ, His being "received up in," or "with," or "into glory;" Christ's ascension or assumption to heaven being an irrefragable argument of conviction to the world, that He died an innocent person, and consequently that what He taught was the will of God and truth of heaven, to which He was assumed after His testification of it; to which when these two circumstances are superadded, first,

John xvi. 10.

that His assumption being in the sight of many, was also solemnized by the presence of angels, and a voice from heaven,—and so ἐν δόξῃ, 'in' or 'with glory,' after a glorious manner,—and secondly, that it was attended with the exercise of divine power, both in the Church by the hands of the Apostles and their successors, whom Christ had authorized to succeed Him on the earth, and in the world by executing visible judgments on His crucifiers, &c.,—and so ἐν δόξῃ, into glory or regal power,—this will be an article of great energy for the planting of Christian faith and purity in the world.

CHAP. VI.

Acts i. 9—11.

CHAP. VII.

THE FAITH IN BAPTISM.

1. What hath thus been set down as so many branches of fundamental belief, and so of the mystery of godliness, the ground of initiating or entering men into Christian life, is more summarily comprised in the form of baptism, the ceremony of this initiation instituted by Christ, wherein all that were to be baptized, were, if of age, first instructed in the doctrine, and then received, "in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." Which are the abbreviature of the larger catalogue of doctrinals formerly taught and explained by the catechist, and those on which they that administered baptism are commanded to superstruct all the duties of Christian life, "teaching them to observe all things which I have commanded you;" the authority of all and each the Persons of the Trinity being purposely engaged on this one great interest, and the gathering disciples and receiving of proselytes over the world, being designed to this one grand end, of introducing the practice of Christian virtues among men, who do therefore in baptism sacramentally and federally, i.e. under oath and solemnest vow,—as they believe any thing of these fundamental doctrines of God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,—undertake the performance thereof, and if they fail therein, are the most faithless, per-

The Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

Matt. xxviii. 20.

CHAP. VII.

jured persons in the world. And certainly this method is in the design as probable, how improsperous soever the wickedness of men hath rendered the success of it, as any could have been invented to this end.

CHAP. VIII.

OF THE CREEDS IN GENERAL; AND FIRST OF THE APOSTLES' CREED.

The Apostles' Creed.

1. THE method now leads from the more compendious, to the larger and fuller view of this foundation, as it is set down in the Creeds of the Church, and first in that which is called *symbolum Apostolicum*, the Apostolic badge or mark, a tessera or token of the Apostles having planted the faith in any Church, the known summary of that belief which had been received from the Apostles.

Proved to be the Apostles'.

2. For although in their epistles, which were all written to them which were Christians already, there is not to be expected any complete catalogue of those articles, which they had every where taught, because they were supposed by them to be sufficiently known, and might briefly be referred to, as such, without any perfect enumeration; yet in any city or region, where the Apostles came to plant the faith, it is the affirmation of the first writers of the Church, as frequently appears in Tertullian, Irenæus[p], &c., and there is no reason of doubt of the truth of it, that all those articles which were thought fit to be laid as the foundation of Christian life, were by them distinctly delivered; and this being a matter of fact, of which,—as of the canon of Scripture, or of this or that book in it,—only the records and stories of the first times are competent judges, that Creed which is delivered down to us by the ancient Churches thus planted, I mean those of the first three hundred years, and by them entitled to the name 'the Apostles',' and expounded in the homilies of the fathers, some extant, others mentioned by Ruffinus, *illustres tractatores*[q] which had gone before him in that work,

[p] [See the note at p. 77.]
[q] [Ruffinus, Expositio in Symbolum Apostolorum, in init.]

is in all reason to be deemed the sum of that foundation. Of this if any further evidence be necessary, it will be thus easily made up.

3. The time of forming the Nicene Creed, and the occasion of it, by way of opposition to those heresies which had then broken into the Church, is known to every man. Now before this was formed, it is certain that all the Churches of the world[r], both Eastern and Western, had a form of confession of faith, which they had received from their immediate ancestors, and they from the Apostles themselves[s].

4. And of this there is no place of doubting but that it was the very same which we now call the Apostles' Creed, not only because there was never any other assigned by any, or affirmed to have had that general reception, but because the testimonies of the ancients are expressly for this. Ruffinus and Vigilius (cont. Eutychen) testify clearly for the Western Church, and Ruffinus again, and Cyril of Jerusalem for the Eastern[t].

5. And Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra, in the great council of Nice, a famous supporter of the true faith, and a great sufferer for it, against the Arians, at his taking his leave of Pope Julius, leaves behind him the confession of his faith, which, saith he, he "had received" *παρὰ τῶν κατὰ Θεὸν προγόνων*, "from his predecessors in the Lord." And this was the same with that which we now style the Apostles' Creed, as appears in that story, set down by Epiphanius, hær. 72.[u]

[r] Ecclesia per universum orbem usque ad fines terræ seminata, et ab Apostolis et a discipulis eorum accepit eam fidem quæ est in unum Deum patrem omnipotentem, &c.—Iren., lib. i. c. 2.

[s] Quid si neque Apostoli quidem scripturas reliquissent nobis, nonne oportebat ordinem sequi traditionis, quam tradiderunt iis, quibus constituebant Ecclesias? Cui ordinationi assentiunt multæ gentes barbarorum eorum qui in Christum credunt, sine charta et atramento scriptam habentes per Spiritum in cordibus suis salutem, et veterem traditionem diligenter custodientes, in unum Deum credentes. [See note at p. 78.]—Iren., lib. iii. c. 4.

[t] [See Ruffinus, Expositio in Symbolum Apostolorum, and Vigilius contra Eutychen de duabis naturis in Christo, and St. Cyril of Jerusalem, passim.]

[u] [*Πιστεύω οὖν εἰς Θεὸν παντοκράτορα, καὶ εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν τὸν Υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν, τὸν γεννηθέντα ἐκ Πνεύματος ἁγίου, καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου, τὸν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου σταυρωθέντα, καὶ ταφέντα, καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστάντα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, ἀναβάντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, καὶ καθήμενον ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρὸς, ὅθεν ἔρχεται κρίνειν ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς· καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν, ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν, ζωὴν αἰώνιον· ἀδιαίρετον εἶναι τὴν θεότητα τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, παρὰ τῶν θείων μεμαθήκαμεν γραφῶν· εἰ γάρ τις χωρίζει τὸν Υἱὸν, τουτέστι τὸν Λόγον τοῦ παντοκράτορος Θεοῦ, ἀνάγκη αὐτὸν*

CHAP. VIII.

All which will receive yet further force from that known observation of St. Austin's[x], that "what the universal Church holds, and hath not been instituted by councils, but always retained, is with all reason to be believed to have been delivered by tradition apostolical," there being no other so large an original to which so universal an effect may be imputed, especially when to that we add Tertullian's words of this very matter[y]. *Regula quidem fidei una omnino est, sola immobilis et irreformabilis, credendi scilicet in unicum Deum, omnipotentem, mundi Creatorem, et Filium Ejus Jesum Christum, natum ex Virgine Maria,* &c.: "The rule of faith is altogether one, and that alone immoveable, and unreformable, to wit of believing in one only God, omnipotent, Creator of the world, and in His Son Jesus Christ, born of the Virgin Mary," &c. Which being a summary reference to this Creed, and that resolved to be one over all the world, and that unchangeable, must needs be imputed to that apostolic original, which alone can pretend to that dignity, and accordingly he tells us[z], *hanc regulam ab initio Evangelii decucurrisse,* "that this rule came down from the beginning of the gospel."

ἢ δύο Θεοὺς εἶναι νομίζειν, ὅπερ ἀλλότριον τῆς θείας διδασκαλίας εἶναι νενόμισται, ἢ τὸν Λόγον μὴ εἶναι Θεὸν ὁμολογεῖν, ὅπερ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀλλότριον τῆς ὀρθῆς πίστεως εἶναι φαίνεται, τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ λέγοντος, καὶ Θεὸς ἦν ὁ Λόγος· ἐγὼ δὲ ἀκριβῶς μεμάθηκα, ὅτι ἀδιαίρετος καὶ ἀχώριστός ἐστιν ἡ δύναμις τοῦ Πατρὸς ὁ Υἱός· αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ Σωτὴρ ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός φησί· ἐν ἐμοὶ ὁ Πατὴρ, κἀγὼ ἐν τῷ Πατρί· καὶ, ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ Πατὴρ ἕν ἐσμεν· καὶ, ὁ ἐμὲ ἑωρακὼς, ἑώρακε τὸν Πατέρα. Ταύτην καὶ παρὰ τῶν θείων γραφῶν εἰληφὼς τὴν πίστιν, καὶ παρὰ τῶν κατὰ Θεὸν προγόνων διδαχθεὶς, ἔν τε τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ κηρύττω, καὶ πρός σε νῦν γέγραφα τὸ ἀντίγραφον τούτου παρ' ἐμαυτῷ κατασχών· καὶ ἀξιῶ τὸ ἀντίτυπόν σε τούτου τῇ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπισκόπους ἐπιστολῇ ἐγγράψαι, ἵνα μή τινες τῶν ἀκριβῶς μὴ εἰδότων ἡμᾶς, κἀκείνοις τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν γραφεῖσι προσέχοντες ἀπατηθῶσιν. ἔρρωσθε.—S. Epiphan. adv. Hær., lib. iii. tom. i. p. 836.]

[x] [Quod universa tenet ecclesia, nec concilii institutum, sed semper retentum est non nisi auctoritate apostolica traditum rectissime creditur.—S. Aug. de Bapt. cont. Donat., lib. iv. c. 31. tom. ix. p. 140.]

[y] [See the note at p. 77.]

[z] [Nos vero et semper et nunc magis ut instructiores per Paracletum, deductorem scilicet omnis veritatis unicum quidem Deum credimus, sub hac tamen dispensatione quam *οἰκονομίαν* dicimus ut unici Dei sit et filius sermo ipsius qui ex ipso processerit *per quem omnia facta sunt, et sine quo factum est nihil.* Hunc missum a patre in virginem, et ex ea natum hominem et Deum filium hominis et filium Dei et cognominatum Jesum Christum. Hunc passum, hunc mortuum et sepultum secundum scripturas et resuscitatum a patre et in cœlo resumptum, sedere ad dexteram patris, venturum judicare vivos et mortuos. Qui exinde miserit secundum promissionem suam a patre spiritum sanctum paracletum sanctificatorem fidei eorum qui credunt in patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum. Hanc regulam ab initio evangelii decucurrisse etiam ante priores quosque hæreticos, nedum ante Praxeam hesternum, probabit tam ipsa posteritas omnium hæreticorum quam ipsa novellitas Praxeæ hesterni.—Tertull. adv. Prax., cap. 2.]

CHAP. VIII.

6. And that every branch thereof in several, was a fit and proper ground-work of Christian obedience, wherever it were planted, and altogether sufficient to found the reformation of whole cities and provinces at once, will be discernible by the most cursory survey.

The articles thereof fundamental to good life.

7. The articles 1. of God the Father, the Ruler[a] and Creator of all the world; secondly, of God the Son, both in His titles and offices, and in the passages of His story, from the assumption of our flesh to His coming again from heaven to be our Judge; and thirdly, of God the Holy Ghost; being all amassed together, make up this plain sense, that all the divine and infinitely wise ways of economy that God in heaven could think fit to use toward a rational creature, to oblige and reduce mankind to that course of living which is most perfectly agreeable to our nature, and by the mercy of God ordinable to eternal bliss, all the most powerful methods of impressing our duty on us, the authority of the God of heaven, who hath sovereign dominion over all, of God the Son, made up of all humble and charitable ways of condescension to invite, and yet of all power and terrors to constrain and engage our obedience, to execute vengeance on those that will not be wooed by Him, and of God the Holy Ghost, who hath ordained a succession of men, from that time to the end of the world, continually to negotiate this one affair of reducing sinners to repentance: all these, I say, have been so solemnly made use of, and impressed by Him, that there wants nothing but care and consideration of our own eternal weal, a tolerance or endurance of being made happy here, and blessed eternally, to bring all that have believed those articles to forsake their sinful courses, and sincerely to apply themselves to the obedience of Christ.

The article of God the Father.

8. The first stone of this foundation is the consideration and acknowledgment of the one eternal God, under those two great relations of a Father and a Prince, and both those founded in His right to the creature by title of creation; and the one belief and acknowledgment of this entitles Him, and engages us to a ready voluntary obedience to, and dependence on Him, and prepares for such an universal reception of all that shall ever be revealed to be His will, that every

[a] παντοκράτωρ.

CHAP. VIII.

presumptuous, known act of prevarication is no less than a θεομαχία, a 'rebellion,' like that of the old giants, a fighting against God, a contesting with Heaven, a resisting His will and our own happiness, and that may be one seasonable degree toward the obliging us to piety.

Of God the Son.

9. The second, and that which brings along with it all the force and authority of the former, as the only Son bearing the person and employed in the embassy of the Father, is the acknowledgment of Jesus Christ, who, by being sent into the world to be our King or Lord, and by the divine miraculous way of His entrance into it, the powers and mighty works and piety of His life, and the stupendous manner of His passage out of the world, to resume, in His human, as well as divine nature, that regal power in heaven which from all eternity belonged to Him as God, is fitly qualified and prepared to take possession of His inheritance, to rule and reign in our hearts by this faith, and so to recall and reduce immediately all that cordially believe the true God, who now in this gracious pacific manner comes to treat with them, and to convince all the blind worshippers of idol false gods of the vanity and villany of their former courses, and so to bring them back to their own peace.

Of God the Holy Ghost.

10. Thirdly, the acknowledgment of the Holy Ghost, in that great office of Paraclete, or Advocate of Christ, convincing the world of the truth and divine authority of Christ's message, and then commissionating and assisting the Apostles and their successors in their continued never-ceasing embassy to us, "to pray us in Christ's stead" to lay down our weapons of hostility, and "to be reconciled unto God," to live friendly and filially, i. e. obediently before Him, what is it but a continued perpetuated voice from heaven, resounding for ever in our ears? as if it were minutely proclaimed in thunder from heaven, to give men no rest in their sins, no quiet from Christ's importunity, till they awake from the lethargic sleep, and arise from so dead, so mortiferous a state, and permit Him to give them life.

[2 Cor. v. 20.]

[Rom. v. 10.]

Of the holy Catholic Church.

11. That which follows of the holy Catholic Church, as it is, with the rest, an attendant on this article of the Holy Ghost, the end of whose descent was to gather a Church or society of holy Christian livers over the whole world, so is it

the interpretation of those two parts of the mystery of piety formerly explicated, Christ's being "preached among the gentiles, and believed on in the world," of the ἐπισυναγωγὴ ἐπ' αὐτὸν, the 'gathering together' of a multitude over the world, among gentiles as well as Jews, to that banner set up by Christ, enrolling themselves in His musters, engaging their faithful obedience to Him; and if we will not be made the mark and aim of all His arrows, be looked on as the professed opposers of all His methods, and therein of all piety, and of our own souls, we must think ourselves obliged to hasten into that number, and that in respect of the holiness, as well as the assemblies, of the practice, as well as the profession of Christianity. [2 Thess. ii. 1.]

12. And the consideration and serious belief of this, that God hath taken such care to anticipate and prevent every man, to draw Him early into His Church, there to instruct and oblige him to all Christian performance, to give piety the prepossession, before other competitors, home-bred lusts or vicious customs of the world, should be able to pretend to him, and so to engage him in holiness first, and then in bliss, is another argument of great energy to work effectually on mankind, and recommend this obedience to them.

Of the communion of saints.

13. So likewise the κοινωνία τῶν ἁγίων, which seems to me, and is elsewhere[b] explicated, to belong to the "communication," as that signifies liberality of the saints which first received the faith of Christ, and as it is there explained by their having ἅπαντα κοινὰ, "all things common," and that again by selling their possessions, and distributing them to all, "as every man had need," and again by αἰνοῦντες [τὸν] Θεὸν καὶ ἔχοντες χάριν, "praising God, and having" or exercising "charity to all the people," making their liberality a special branch of their Eucharist, their blessing and worshipping of God,—as it is an evidence of the great force that the gospel of Christ had then upon men's souls, melting them into that liberal effusion of all that they had, into an absolute contempt of all that is most doted on in the world, κτήματα καὶ ὑπάρξεις, 'possessions of all kinds,' and by parting with all indefinitely, Acts ii. 42. ver. 44. ver. 45. ver. 47.

[b] [The author's reference is to note (e) on Acts ii. 42, vol. iii. p. 355 of his 'Paraphrase and Annotations,' which had been published in 1653, about twelve months before this treatise came out. But see also the 'Practical Catechism,' lib. v. sect. 4. p. 330.]

CHAP. VIII.

throwing themselves absolutely upon God's minutely providence for the sustaining of them, which is directly the merchant's course in the gospel, selling all, and buying, at that vast price, the one hidden jewel which he had found, so it is an engagement to all that will undertake this profession, to come with preparations of mind some way proportionable to these examples, to exercise that charity to men and dependance on God in the things of this world, which shall evidence their *πολίτευμα ἐν οὐρανοῖς*, that the joys which they depend on are in another world, and that the either having or wanting here, is no otherwise considerable, than as it is the opportunity of exercising the several graces, which are the properest means to exalt and perfect our nature, and the way to our immortality.

[Matt. xiii. 46.]

[Phil. iii. 20.]

14. As for the other larger notion of this *κοινωνία ἁγίων*, so as to import the spiritual union of faith and love between all professors of Christianity, and, as exercises of that, the communication of the mysteries,—so ordinarily styled *ἅγια*,—of prayers, of fastings, of tears, of sufferings, of rejoicings, of thanksgivings, it must be taken in by analogy with this former, and will also fitly be comprehended under the former article of the Church,—and therefore it is, that the Nicene Creed sets "the Holy Catholic Apostolic Church" in the place of both these,—and therefore need not be further insisted on here.

The forgiveness of sins;

15. The forgiveness of sins which now follows, is, being rightly understood, the most eminent branch of this foundation, and the removal of an hindrance which might otherwise obstruct all thought or design of reformation, but being misunderstood is rendered instrumental to the most presumptuous obstinate security in sin.

misinterpreted.

16. Should it be mistaken for an absolute impunity promised freely by God, or absolutely purchased by Christ either for all men indefinitely, or for some special favourites of Heaven, without respect to their reformation or new obedience, it were the direct foundation of all impenitence, to all that either had or believed themselves to have their part in it, and might by all carnal men probably be made use of as such.

17. For to a carnal liver, which were once possessed of

this persuasion, that all his sins past and future were absolutely forgiven by the tenure of the gospel, and that without any condition of change required of him, what imaginable motive is there to persuade him to forsake any one sin, to which he hath the slightest temptation? When God is once a favourer of his grossest sins, or of his person in despite of his sins, all the other articles of his belief will sound nothing but mercy and promises to him, and accordingly those that have imbibed this error, have extended the influence thereof to the whole gospel, which they will not allow to contain any thing but promises, and so all the commands of Christ are at once out-dated.

Rightly understood.

18. But when it is rightly understood, and confined within those due limits which the gospel every where assigns it, 1. to be the pardon of sins past and forsaken, which belongs not either to future sins, or to any that are not reformed; secondly, to be the admission of sinners to repentance, and so, and by no other means, to forgiveness, and therefore John's ceremony of admitting proselytes is called "the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins;" [Mark i. 4.] thirdly, to extend no further to any sort of sins continued in or unforsaken, than as they are reconcileable with sincere endeavours, and use of the means, to forsake and get victory over them, which though it secure us of God's favour and pardon to our infirmities and ignorances, doth denounce His wrath against our wilful sins; when it is taken with these restraints and conditions on one side, and is then extended, as the general promulgation extends it, to all the sins of every sinner in the world, who shall by repentance and sincerity of change be rendered capable of it; when that which is mistaken to be particular and absolute, is duly understood to be general, but conditionate,—and to belong to none, who shall not perform the condition, i. e. impartially, and sincerely, and universally reform his ways according to the rules delivered by Christ, His precepts of Christian purity, extending to the very heart;—then is there a sure ground-work laid of renovation and care for our future lives, and all objections removed, that might probably obstruct that superstructure.

19. As long as we are guilty of any past sin, and have no

CHAP. VIII.

promise, the only due ground of hope, of remission, whatever our future care be, this desperation of success chills all our industry, and we sin on, because we have sinned, we cast off the care of all future thrift, because we are already bankrupted.

The want of this to renovation in a first,

a second,

20. So again while we make no distinction of sins, and deem every invincible infirmity or ignorance, from which we have no hope to be freed in this life, to be as dangerous and mortiferous as the most wilful act or favoured habit of carnality, another face of the same desperation affrights us, and admonisheth us to provide for our ease when we cannot for our security, deters from attempting what we cannot finish, and permits us to be careless when we cannot hope to be prosperous in our care.

a third respect.

21. Nay, when we undertake the baptismal vow, and enter on this new life, if, as that baptism cannot be repeated, so it were impossible that any grosser fall after the first repentance could receive any cure or remedy; the experience of our own frailties, and the consideration of the slippery place we stand on, of the watchfulness of the tempter, and the advantage he hath from a false party within us, which is always ready to join with him and betray us, and of the great difficulty, the moral, though not natural, impossibility, that in so long a work we should continue so vigilant as to be obnoxious neither to surprise nor fall, would be apt, like the news of the Anakims in the way, to discourage us from leaving the accustomed familiar wilderness, and undertaking the unknown voyage to that good land, environed with so many difficulties: an opinion of the feasibleness or successfulness of the work, being as necessary to found a purpose of undertaking it, as either the authority of commands, or the persuasiveness of promises, or pungency of menaces, or prospect of mischiefs upon neglect can be imagined to be.

The necessity of it.

22. But when all these objections are answered, discouragements removed, difficulties provided for,—as they are by this article of remission of sins, duly explained, and superadded to the former branches of the foundation,—they to whom all this is revealed and received with an undoubting faith, if they do not presently set about so easy and so happy a task, which hath so many grains of equity and mercy

allowed in the weighing it out unto us, if they will not be directed into a path so plained and smoothed, that the "wayfaring men, though fools, shall not err therein,"—that weakness, or ignorance, or natural defects, or human frailties, or any thing that includes not insincerity and presumptuous going on in sin, shall be reconcileable with their hopes and God's acceptance,—must needs acknowledge themselves in the number of the blind people that have eyes: of the provokers that shall not, because they will not, enter into God's rest, of the sinners that have no excuse for their sin. [Isa. xxxv. 8.]

The belief of the resurrection of the body.

23. In the next place the resurrection of the body, which includes and supposes a future state of souls after that of this life, (for to what purpose should that world of *νεκρὰ*, 'carcases,' arise, if there were not as numerous a world of souls ready to animate them, and join with them in receiving rewards and punishments for all that the souls have acted by those instruments in this life?) is most necessary to found and enforce this renovation; for, if there were nothing after this life, "if in the death of a man there were no" *ἴασις*, "cure" or "remedy," if the premises of the atheist in that chapter had truth in them, his conclusion being founded on those premises, it could not be strange or irrational for him to proceed, "Come on therefore, let us enjoy the good things that are present." Wisd. ii. 1. ver. 6.

Fundamental to renovation.

24. And if supposing the immortality of the soul, the body were not ascertained to return to that old associate, if that *ἐργαστήριον πνεύματος*, that 'shop' or 'workhouse' of the good or evil spirit, should, with all that hath been wrought in it, be consumed eternally, this would take it much out of the care of the soul, either to stop it in its career of sin, or to mortify those affections that are in this earthly part, or to spiritualize and replenish it with good works.

The want of it very hurtful.

25. If the upper soul, that hopes to reign in another world, can so far preserve that degree of superiority and dignity of its nature, as to reprehend and check what is consented to by the will or middle faculty in compliance with the flesh, that inferior and brutish, (as it is, as oft as any sin against conscience is committed,) and can then hope, that after a few years of sensuality, that importune rebellious

CHAP. VIII.

servant shall be eternally cast off, drop into a perpetual impassible nothing, take a long progress into "a land where all things are forgotten," and consequently the good which hath been acted in that flesh, as well as the evil,—this would be some colour for that novel persuasion, a fruitful principle of all carnality, that the man may be regenerate in the sight of God, though he be "sold under sin," "led captive unto the law of sin which is in the members," meaning thereby the most constant compliance of the will and actions to all the motions of the flesh, so long as the law of God in the mind or upper soul dislike and dissent from it, which it will seldom miss to do as long as we have any conscience or knowledge of duty remaining in us.

[Psalm lxxxviii. 12.]

[Rom. vii. 14.]

[Rom. vii. 23.]

The persuasion gainful.

26. But when the prevarications and irregularities of the body, which are not subdued as well as checked, mortified as well as disliked by the soul, shall receive their certain payment in the body, reunited on purpose to the soul, that that which hath merited by compliance, may be rewarded by sympathy; when the flames, that by being inflicted on the body are experimented to afflict and enter into the soul, shall demonstrate to the soul her close concernment in all that is permitted to come so near her, then it will appear to be every man's interest to join good performances to spiritual purposes and resolutions, to act, as well as to design, to subdue and quell the exorbitances of the flesh, as well as to continue the wouldings of the spirit; and this being absolutely required to the sincerity and reality of our repentance and renovation, which consists not in the strife, or wish, or purpose, but in the actual operations of good life, the belief of the resurrection of the body, which is so instrumental and preparative to this, must needs be fundamental to that, which is superstructed on it; and was therefore deemed fit to be first preached to all men, before strict Christian performances could reasonably be required of them.

Everlasting life.

27. Lastly, the everlasting life both of body and soul in that future state, whether in bliss or woe, hath with all reason been added as the last stone to this foundation, and in it all the promises and terrors of the gospel, to persuade and drive us to repentance.

28. Were the state wherein we expect our reward for the

The necessity of the belief of that.

abstinences or riots of this present life under the prejudices of short or finite, as it hath the disadvantage of absence and futurity, the promises and threats of Christ would lose much of their virtue and energy, and being by their spiritual and invisible nature rendered so faint in the original, and yet, to make them more so, set to solicit us at a distance, they would want a competent instrument to collect and convey their rays successfully, or so as to effect or impress the species with any vigour on a dull, and withal prejudicate faculty. We know a life in reversion is not half so valuable, as that which may at present be entered on, and this not only in the opinion of fools, but of the most prudent purchasers; and unless there be somewhat in the duration to enhance the value, and to be offered in commutation, and to reward the patience of the present self-denial, heaven itself would be looked on jealously, as a project to deprive us of our present portions, to cheat us of our possessions; but when the loss of every present advantage to flesh and blood is sure to be repaid in a far nobler coin, and to continue to be enjoyed to all eternity; when beside the liberal harvest of satisfactions for any the most trivial loss or suffering, submitted to upon Christ's command or advice, the "hundred fold more in this life," we are secured to reap in another world, everlasting imperishable felicities; and when to the empty, nauseous, afflicting pleasures of sin, for some one shortest moment, attended immediately with a far more durable shame, and then followed with an immortal, endless gnawing death, that is all jaws, but no stomach, shall remain by way of arrear a sharp, yet sullen payment to all eternity; when every play or jest of sin, shall engage us in that perpetual earnest, and after the transitory joy is forgotten or loathed, the irreversible sentence of endless woe is expected instantly and infallibly to come out, and with it an ἐσφράγισται ταμιεῖα, all the storehouses of ease or mercy sealed up, all drops to cool or oceans to quench our misery; then certainly upon this persuasion duly rooted, not in the brain but heart, an ordinary orator may suffice to superstruct an admission of the precepts of Christ, and induce in a rational creature a willingness to be happy here, by a patient bearing of a gentle desirable yoke, that so he may be blessed eternally.

[Matt. xix. 29; Mark x. 30; Luke xviii. 30.]

CHAP. VIII.

29. And so we have taken a cursory view of the several articles of the most ancient and shortest Creed, and therein exemplified the propriety of our definition of fundamentals; and having the Apostles' judgment in their preachings to confirm us in the truth, that the laying of so large a foundation was deemed necessary to their design of planting the same fruits in all soils, piety, probity, and purity, in a nation of hypocritical Jews, and a world of idolatrous polluted gentiles, we have already shewed how unnecessary it is to enquire whether any single sinner of either of those provinces, might not possibly be reduced to Christian life, without some one of these explicitly and actually considered, and so have no temptation to enlarge this chapter by any such consideration.

CHAP. IX.

OF THE NICENE AND ATHANASIAN CREEDS TOGETHER; AND SEVERALLY OF THE NICENE.

1. HAVING viewed the Apostles' Creed, and of it premised this one thing, that it was a complete catalogue of all that they, being directed by the Holy Ghost in their ministry, thought fit, to lay the foundation of Christian obedience in every Church, and consequently that there was no more, in their opinion, necessary, in order to this end of working reformation in the world; it will from this datum demonstratively follow, either that there is in the two other Creeds, the Nicene and Athanasian, nothing materially different from that which the Apostles' Creed had contained, nothing really superadded to it, or else that that superaddition was not, in the Apostles' estimation, necessary to this end, and consequently that if, at the forming of them, it were by the following Church thought necessary to be thus made, or still continues to be so, this must arise from some fresh emergent, one or more, which had been observable in the Church after the Apostles' time.

The design of later Creeds.

2. And which of these two is the truth, it will not be uneasy to define; for though the omission of some words,

Defined.

which had been retained in the Apostles' Creed, do not signify much,—for it is certain that they were, while retained in that, and are still, now they are left out in following Creeds, eternally and unquestionably true, in the sense wherein the Apostles and their successors understood them,—nor indeed any more, than that they were virtually contained in other words still continued,—as the descent to Hades[c], under that of His suffering aud burial, and not rising till the third day; and the communication of saints, under the Catholic Church, with the epithet of Apostolic added to it,—or else that they were not necessary to be repeated, because already familiarly known and confessed, and not questioned by those heretics, against whom the variations were designed,—as in the Athanasian Creed, the articles of the Holy Ghost, so largely set down in four branches in the Nicene Creed, and the three articles attending that of the Holy Ghost in the Apostles' Creed, are all omitted,—yet those words which in the later Creeds were superadded to the former, were apparently designed by the compilers for some special use, either by way of addition, or interpretation, to fence the Catholic orthodox faith from the corruptions and depravations, or else from the doubtings and contradictions of heretics.

Of the Nicene.

3. Thus in the Nicene Creed, the two additions in the first article, the ἕνα, 'one,' prefixed to 'God,' and the καὶ πάντων τῶν ὁρατῶν καὶ ἀοράτων, 'and of all things visible and invisible,' were, upon prudent deliberation and considering, interposed, the first of them on occasion of the Arians, in one respect, and both of them, in another respect, by reason of the Gnostic and Valentinian, and such like following heretics, whose heathen and poetical theology, taken from Hesiod, and Orpheus, and Philistion, had rendered them necessary. For that those heretics, beginning with their Simon and Helena, had introduced a plurality of gods, and so made the profession of the unity, part of the symbolum that should discriminate the orthodox from them, and affirmed that their *æones* or 'angels' were begotten by Helena,

One God.

[c] [The author seems to have forgotten that the first explicit mention of the 'descent into hell' occurs in the creed of Aquileia, i. e. nearly as late as the commencement of the fourth century.]

CHAP. IX.

Simon's πρώτη ἔννοια, 'first cogitation,' and that the world was created by them, and that the God of the Jews was but one of those angels, and a great deal of the like, appears by Irenæus[d]; and these two insertions were clear explications of the Apostles' old form, "God the Father, ruler of all, maker of heaven and earth," which sufficiently contained an acknowledgment of the unity, for how else could He be monarch, or, ruler of all? and also asserted Him the creator of all the angels, who were certainly comprehended under the 'heaven and earth,' the phrase of Scripture to denote the world, but yet was capable of more light, by these more explicit words, 'visible and invisible,' to exclude the contradictions of heretics.

Of all things visible and invisible.

4. And though the Creed in the ancient apostolic form were sufficient for any man to believe and profess, yet when the Church hath thought meet to erect that additional bulwark against heretics, the rejecting, or denying the truth of, those their additions, may justly be deemed an interpretative siding with those ancient, or a desire to introduce some new heresies; and though good life might have been founded without those additions, if on such occasions they had never been made, yet the pride or singularity, or heretical design, of opposing or questioning them, now they are framed, being themselves irreconcileable with Christian charity, and humility, are destructive of the fabric directly, and interpretatively of the very foundation, and is therefore justly deemed criminous and liable to censures in the Church of God.

One Lord Jesus Christ, &c.

5. So likewise the oneness of our Lord Jesus Christ, as before of the Father, referring to the several hypostases in the one eternal, indivisible, divine nature, and the eternity of the Son's generation, and His co-eternity and consubstantiality with the Father, when He "came down from heaven, and was incarnate &c. for us men" peculiarly, not

[d] [Hic Helenam quandam ipse a Tyro civitate Phœnices quæstuariam cum redemisset, secum circumducebat, dicens hanc esse primam mentis ejus conceptionem, matrem omnium per quam initio mente concepit angelos facere et archangelos. Hanc enim Ennoiam exsilientem ex eo, cognoscentem quæ vult pater ejus degredi ad inferiora et generare angelos et potestates a quibus et mundum hunc factum dixit.—S. Iren., lib. i. cap. 23.

Salvatorem autem innatum demonstravit et incorporalem, et sine figura, putatione autem visum hominem: et Judæorum Deum unum ex angelis esse dixit.—Id. ib., cap. 24.]

for angels, "and for our salvation;" and lastly the perpetuity of His kingdom added in the close, all these are assertions equivalent to those which had been before comprised in the ancient, more simple, uncompounded article, but were useful to be thus enlarged and explicated, when the Arians opposed the apostolic tradition, and by corrupting detorted the words of Scripture to their sense.

6. This is elsewhere[e] more largely shewed, in the note on 1 John v. 7, and all that will opportunely here be added, is only this, that they which, according to the Apostles' depositum, or doctrine in every Church, believed the descent, and incarnation of the eternal God, on purpose to rescue mankind from all impurities, to reveal the whole divine will for the regulating men's lives, to attest it by His death, and evidence it by His resurrection, &c., and at last to come to judge the world, according to this determinate rule, had all those branches of Christian faith which were required to qualify mankind to submit to Christ's reformation. And it is the wilful opposing these more explicit articles, the resisting them, when they are competently proposed from the definition of the Church,—and not the not believing them thus explicitly, when either they are not revealed, or not with that conviction, against which he cannot blamelessly and without pertinacity of his will hold out,—that will bring danger of ruin on any.

The Holy Ghost the Lord and giver of life, &c.

7. That which is added of the Holy Ghost, "the Lord and giver of life, who proceedeth from the Father and the Son," supposing with the western Church that the *Filioque* was found in the first copies and acts of that council, "who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, who spake by the prophets," is in like manner an enlargement and explication of the more brief apostolic form, and the substance thereof was comprised formerly in that uncompounded style, fitter then for the belief and memory of all, but was afterward prudently enlarged for the repelling and preventing the poison of heretical invaders, the Montanists, and Macedonians, &c.

One baptism for the remission of sins.

8. And so likewise that addition of the 'one baptism' prefixed to the 'remission of sins' was on purpose designed

[e] [See the 'Paraphrase and Annotations,' vol. iv. p. 452.]

CHAP. IX.

against the Novatians, whose pretensions were considered, and condemned in the council of Nice[f]; the practices of the Churches in receiving those that had fallen into gross sins after baptism, had been somewhat different, in some parts milder, as in the Church of Rome, in others more rigid; the Church of Rome had given some liberty for the great offenders, murderers, adulterers, and such as had fallen to idol worship, in time of persecution, viz., that after many years' penance they might be restored to the communion and peace of the Church, without any new baptism, such as was used in admitting heathens, only by imposition of hands, or absolution; extending the virtue of baptism formerly received, to the washing away of these sins committed after baptism, in case of sincere repentance and forsaking of them; this the Novatians disliked, and thereupon brake off, and made a schism in the Church. And the council of Nice taking cognizance of the matter, judged against Novatus and his followers, that there was place for a second repentance, and not only for that first before baptism, as appears by the canons of that council. And this was it that was referred to in this more enlarged passage of their Creed, and the use of it thought very considerable for the reducing of lapsed Christians, as the apostolical article of remission of sins indefinitely, had been for the attracting heathens. And this, and all the former additions, being thus settled by the universal Church, were, and still are, in all reason, without disputing, to be received and embraced by the present Church, and every meek member thereof, with that reverence that is due to apostolic truths, that thankfulness which is our meet tribute to those sacred champions for their seasonable and provident propugning of our faith, with such timely and necessary application to practice, that the Holy Ghost, speaking to us now, under the times of the New Testament, by the governors of the Christian Churches, Christ's mediate successors in the prophetic, pastoral, episcopal office, as He had formerly spoken by the prophets of the Old Testament, sent immediately by Him, may find a cheerful audience, and receive all uniform submission from us.

[f] [Conc. Nicen. Canones xi. xii. xiv.]

9. And this is all that is here necessary to be said of this second Creed. CHAP. IX.

CHAP. X.

OF THE ATHANASIAN CREED.

1. Of the Athanasian Creed, as it is usually called, two things will be briefly considerable, 1. the doctrine of it, 2. the curses and damnation denounced against those who do not entirely maintain it, without the corruptions and mixtures of the heretics.

2. The doctrine is, well-nigh all of it, the asserting the unity of the divine nature, and the Trinity of hypostases, whether subsistences, as the Greek Church called it, or, as the Latin, *personæ*, 'persons' in it, and that in opposition to several novel propositions, which had by heretics been introduced in the Church, and so, as the vices of men suggest laws, occasioned such explications and enlargements. And of these again, much more than of the Nicene superadditions, it may be reasonably affirmed, that being the explications of a father of the Church, and not of a whole universal council, or of the Church representative, they were neither necessary to be explicitly acknowledged, before they were convincingly revealed, nor simply and absolutely imposable on any particular man, any further than he was a member of some Church, which had actually received Athanasius's explication, as it is apparent the western Churches did, or than it appeared concordant with the more authentic universal confessions, as every doctrinal proposition of it will be found to do. The doctrine of the Athanasian Creed.

3. As for the censures annexed, 1. in the beginning, "that except a man keep the Catholic faith"—of which this is set down, not as the entire form, but an explication, or interpretation of some parts of it,—"whole and undefiled, he shall doubtless perish everlastingly;" secondly, in the middle, "he that will be saved, must thus think," and "it is necessary to everlasting salvation that he also believe rightly in the incarnation" &c.; and thirdly, in the end, "this is the Ca- The censures.

CHAP. X.

tholic faith, which except a man believe faithfully he cannot be saved;" I suppose they must be interpreted by their opposition to those heresies that had invaded the Church, and which were acts of carnality in them that broached and maintained them, against the apostolic doctrine, and contradictory to that foundation which had been resolved on as necessary to bring the world to the obedience of Christ, and were therefore to be anathematized after this manner, and with detestation branded, and banished out of the Church; not that it was hereby defined to be a damnable sin to fail in the understanding or believing the full matter of any of those explications, before they were propounded, and when it might more reasonably be deemed not to be any fault of the will, to which this were imputable.

CHAP. XI.

OF THE SUPERSTRUCTURE, AND THE PARTICULAR BRANCHES THEREOF.

1. HAVING thus briefly taken a view of the foundation, and therein also of the superstructure generally considered, together with the propriety that one of these hath toward the other, the doctrines of belief to the renewing of men's lives, I am now by course to proceed to a more particular view of this superstructure, and the several branches of it.

The general nature of the superstructure in five particulars.

2. Where first it must be remembered, that the πλήρωσις, or 'filling up,' which Christ designed, contrary to the κατάλυσις, 'dissolving,' or abrogating of the law and the prophets, is far from evacuating or annulling the obligation of any one substantial precept introduced by the law of nature or Moses, but coming as an ἐπίνομις or 'suppletory' to all former laws, as a new and more perfect correct edition of the old codex, as one general law for the reforming and heightening of all laws, is wholly designed, as may be most ordinable to this end.

3. First in filling up vacuities, turning out shadows and ceremonies, by explicit prescription of the substantial duties

which those shadows did obscurely represent: 2. in binding some parts of the yoke closer than they were before thought fit to be bound upon men, extending the precepts further than they were thought to extend: 3. in raising them to more elevated degrees of perfection, sinking them deeper than the outward actions to the purity of the very heart: and 4. by promises of the most amiable divine, and terrors of the most dismal unsupportable nature, confirming and binding them all upon us, and not allowing us liberty or impunity in any indulgent transgression of any branch of this law thus reformed and improved by Him.

4. And this being the result of Christ's design, 1. the production of a καινὴ κτίσις, an entire 'new creature,' a new modelling of the whole soul for the whole space of the future life; and 2. the purpose being to people the whole world, i. e. a community of men, whose understandings are not generally deep, and so must be wrought on by means proportionable to them, with a colony of such divine new creatures; and 3. the nature of man, as a rational and voluntary agent, requiring that all this be done by way of persuasion, not of violence, to preserve their liberty, which alone could render them capable either of reward or punishment; and 4. the difficulty being so great, and the improbability of attempting this successfully so great also, it was but reason that a large and a solid foundation should be laid, upon which this so important and weighty a fabric might probably be erected.

5. But though an uniform universal obedience to the commands of Christ, which contains every specialty under it, and is not reconcileable with our partiality, the προσωποληψία, 'accepting,' as it were, of the person of any sin or virtue, the preferring any one duty to the prejudice of any other, be that which alone can own the title of the Christian superstructure, without which completely erected, no enumeration of particular duties will be sufficient, yet some specialties there are which have a greater propriety to this title than some others, and to which our Christian institution gives us more peculiar obligations; and it will not be amiss to mention some of these.

The specialties of it.

6. First piety, the love, and fear, and obedience, and faith,

CHAP. XI.

and worship of the one true God, in opposition 1. to idolatry; 2. to formality; 3. to hypocrisy, on one side; and then 1. to sacrilege, 2. to profaneness, or impiety, on the other side.

Piety in opposition to idolatry.

7. First piety, or the worship of the true God, the Creator of the world, the God of Israel, as that is opposed to the idol worship, whether of devils or souls of men (in the rites of whose religion many of the vilest sins of carnality and luxury were practised), and to the adoration of lifeless, breathless pictures and images, so it is the reforming of the vices and sottishness that had long overspread the infatuated gentile world, and so a prime branch of that design of Christ's coming, and of His sending His disciples to all nations, to awake them out of this dead sleep and lethargy of soul, and by the knowledge of the true God, to bring them to the imitation of, and dependence on Him.

Piety in opposition to formality.

8. Secondly, as piety is opposed to slight, negligent, external formal performances, so is it the necessary Christian virtue, proportioned adequately to the omniscience and spirituality of that infinite Deity, the belief whereof is laid as a prime part of the foundation. And though that inward warmth, if it be any whit intense, will necessarily extend itself to the outward man,—as motion that begins in the centre, naturally diffuses itself, and affects uniformly, and shakes every part to the circumference,—and consequently oblige the body to attend the soul in all reverences of address to that awful majesty, who hath full title to the obediences of either;—and this, in this conjunction, is far from meriting any unkind censure, or jealousy, the very bodily exercise being affirmed by St. Paul to be ἐπ' ὀλίγον ὠφέλιμος, 'profitable for a little [g],' and the fasts and austerities that were to attend the departure of the Bridegroom being of this nature directly, and so the publican's smiting on his breast being added to his prayer for mercy, on which Christ bestowed that eulogy;—yet if, as insectile animals, for want of blood, run all out into legs, so the want or chillness of devotion, and not the intention of it, be that which casts the body into the solemn demure postures; if, as Julian reproacheth Christianity, the striking of the breast, and

[1 Tim. iv. 8.]

[g] [πρὸς ὀλίγον ὠφέλιμος.]

shaking of the head, the formal outward humiliations, be all the zeal and piety of the Christian, this is no further than Ahab's soft pace, no part of that reformation that Christ came to work, none of that worship in the spirit which is the tribute required in the days of the Messias, and that which the spirituality of God, to whom the addresses are made, and of the promises, which are rewards proportioned to our spirits, most strictly exacts from us. [1 Kings xxi. 27.]

9. Thirdly, as piety is opposed to hypocrisy and insincerity, and all falseness or foulness of intentions, especially to that personated devotion, under which any kind of impiety, oppression, rapine, sedition, &c., is wont to be disguised, and put off more speciously, so is it a special part of this superstructure; and as the defining or opining godliness to be gain, hath the brand and reproach of a heresy, quite contrary to the Christian doctrine and practice, so certainly the designing our obedience to any part of Christ's precepts, as the means to gain to ourselves, and defraud others, to sin more securely before God, or unsuspectedly before men, is of all things most irreconcileable with Christianity; and that so little of this sincere piety is to be met with in the world, the reason is clear, because Christianity is so far from having its perfect work upon men's hearts, our brains and our tongues being the only parts that are ordinarily taken up and possessed with it. To hypocrisy. 1 Tim. vi. 5.

10. Fourthly, the true Christian piety looks upon sacrilege with a more perfect aversation than any former religion hath done; the first efflux of men's piety after receiving of the faith was the selling and consecrating their possessions, and the detaining of any such sacred portion is looked on, and punished severely, as the defrauding of the Spirit of God. And the zeal that is so exhausted, and laid out in animosity to idols and sabbath-breaking, that it can easily support, and put over the golden wedge, and the treasures of the temple, and so likewise the ἀδάπανος εὐσέβεια, the 'cheap, chargeless piety,' that brings no tribute to the offerings of God,— to which anciently it was a scandalous thing for any man to approach empty,—that offers all its sacrifices to the Lord, of that which costs it nothing, is far from any semblance of the Christian reformation, is not ascended so far as the natural, To sacrilege. Acts ii. 45. ch. v. 3. [2 Sam. xxiv. 24.]

CHAP. XI.

the Mosaical, the heathen, the Mahomedan piety, and is a work of more than Egyptian darkness, that the excess of light hath brought into the world.

To profaneness.

11. Fifthly, the Christian piety is, beyond all other things, diametrically opposed to profaneness and impiety of actions, that μεσημβρινὸν δαιμόνιον, 'noon-day devil,' that sins barefaced and confident before the eye of heaven, that of the practical atheists, the ἄθεοι ἐν κόσμῳ τούτῳ, which though they acknowledge God in the Creed, yet reject and abandon Him in their actions, and either as Jews, candidates of an earthy Canaan, or as Turks, of a carnal paradise, live as if there were never a God in this world, and never a life after it, whatsoever proportion of the foundation is laid in their brains, have none of the superstructure in their hearts.

[Eph. ii. 12.]

Obedience to superiors.

12. A second specialty, which hath a considerable propriety to this title, is, obedience to superiors, which though founded in the law of the first creation, and afterward precisely commanded by Moses, hath this note of eminence (above what was formerly) set on it by Christianity, that it is πρώτη ἐντολή, 'a prime commandment,' the very title bestowed by Christ on the love of God, and that with promise, —for that it was not the first commandment with promise, is evident by the second of the Decalogue, which hath a promise annexed to it,—and it is a compound of three of those virtues, to which the beatitudes are peculiarly assigned by Christ, of meekness, and peaceableness, and suffering for righteousness' sake, and this bound indefinitely, not only on all under subjection, κἂν ἀπόστολος, [ᾖς] saith St. Chrysostom[h], though they be Apostles, or bishops, or any the most sacred persons; and extended as indefinitely ὑπερεχούσαις ἐξουσίαις, to the most heathen, provoking, oppressing, as long as they be lawful, powers; and lastly this duty is enlarged by Christ so as to belong to ecclesiastical as well as to civil superiors, who having the keys committed to them by Christ, as to the *œconomi*, or 'stewards' of His family, though they be not armed with the secular sword, or any carnal weapons of their warfare, yet obedience is a tribute that belongs to them, as to those that are to give account for men's souls, which they could not be supposed to do, if they

Matt. xxii. 38; Mark xii. 30.

Matt. v. 5, 9, 10.

Heb. xiii. 17.

[h] [S. Chrys., Hom. xxiii. in Epist. ad Rom., tom. ix. p. 686.]

had not authority over them: and therefore to make religion a stratagem to undermine, or a banner under which to oppose and violate government, is a thing most contrary to this superstructure, most scandalous and reproachful to Christianity.

13. Thirdly, charity to all sorts, to all mankind, to neighbours, to strangers, to our own, and even to God's enemies; charity of all sorts, of giving, of forgiving, of loving, blessing, praying for, of mercy to bodies, of relief to estates, but especially of admonition, and reprehension to souls; charity, in opposition to injustice, coveting and defrauding others, to faction, division, civil intestine broils, schisms and ruptures in a Church,—that special piece of carnality,—to judging, anathematizing, damning, denying the peace of the Church to them that are qualified for it; and lastly to all guilt and thirst of blood, all capital punishing of any but capital malefactors, is a third specialty of this superstructure, as certain a badge of this sinking down of Christianity into the heart, as the apostolical symbol is of the preaching the faith among us. Charity. 1 Cor. iii. 3.

14. Fourthly, purity is a special part of this superstructure, and the circumcision of the heart, the regulating and restraining of all desires of the flesh within the known limits of conjugal or virginal chastity; and this in opposition to πορνεία of all sorts, the unnatural, incestuous, adulterous conjunctions, those before marriage, or after divorce, and to the several degrees of these in the very eye, and all that is proportionable to that, but especially in the heart. And whatsoever men's faith, or their patience, or perseverance were, any remarkable indulgence to this sin, the seduction of Balaam, in the matter of Peor, or the deeds of the Nicolaitans, were sure to bring judgments and curses upon those first daughters of Christ's love, and if not timely repented of and reformed, will in all probability be revenged with the removal of the candlestick, ploughing up the very foundation, the profession of the Christian faith in those national Churches that are still in any eminent manner guilty of it. The judgments of God, and utter destructions of many nations, not only those that were rooted out for the implanting of the Jews, but even of all the mon- Purity. Matt. v. 28. ver. 8. Rev. ii. 14, 15.

CHAP. XI.

archies which are mentioned either by way of story or prediction in the Scripture, are so signally discernible to have been the reward of this sort of sins, especially of the unnatural Sodomitical impurities, and the honourableness of marriage in all,—in order to the averting the ἄτιμα πάθη, 'dishonourable affections[i],'—is so solemnly recommended in the New Testament, in opposition to the impure Gnostic heresy, that was so unkind to marriage, as to make it a work of the devil, that it may be a very opportune caution to all Christian Churches and magistrates, not to impose celibacy on whole callings, and great multitudes of men or women, who cannot be discernible or supposable to have the gift of continence; nor yet by offering worldly rewards and advantages to all that shall deprive themselves of that honourable remedy, to invite the rashest or the worst of men into that state of continual temptations, which hath caused the shipwreck of so many.

Rom. i. [26.]

Contentedness.

15. Fifthly, contentedness is most eminently one of these specialties, and that both as it is opposed to ambition, covetousness, injustice, and uncontentedness, each of which is a most unchristian sin, and also as it is the maintaining and establishing of propriety in the world, which though it be not of any huge importance in respect of any considerable advantages that wealth and honour can help a Christian to, who is, or ought to be, raised by Christ to a contempt and superiority over such mean empty acquisitions as these, yet, as the disturbances which questions of right never fail to bring along with them, are very unhappy, and innumerable, and endless, so the inestimable benefit of peace, and quiet and vacation for piety, and the instrumentalness of riches to works of charity,—even above that more perfect way of absolute despising of wealth, which by giving all at once disables for many thousand future charities,—have rendered it very politic and necessary in every Christian commonwealth, by laws to settle and secure propriety, which he that hath learned with St. Paul to be content in whatsoever estate, will never attempt to invade or violate.

[Phil. iv. 11.]

Taking up the cross.

16. Many other branches of this superstructure there are which it cannot be necessary to mention here, but above all

[i] [πάθη ἀτιμίας.]

the taking up of the cross and following Christ with it on our shoulders: and the vigorous endeavour to cast it off from our own shoulders, to fasten it on other men's, and to shake the foundations of government, in order to any such attempt, is most diametrically contrary to the true Christian temper, an enmity to the cross of Christ. CHAP. XI.

CHAP. XII.

OF THE DOCTRINES THAT HINDER THE SUPERSTRUCTING OF GOOD LIFE ON THE CHRISTIAN BELIEF, FIRST, AMONG THE ROMANISTS, A CATALOGUE OF THEM, ESPECIALLY THAT OF THE INFALLIBILITY OF THE CHURCH; 2. AMONG OTHERS, 1. THAT OF THE SOLIFIDIAN.

1. I COME now to consider what doctrines there are, infused discernibly among Christians, which are most apt to frustrate the forementioned method, to obstruct or intercept the cordial superstructing of Christian life or renovation, where the foundation is duly laid. For, supposing the articles of our Christian faith to be completely taught, and undoubtedly believed, and so the foundation to be purely laid according to the Apostles' platform; and supposing further that the several forementioned branches of the superstructure be so far taught and believed also, as that they are not doubted to be the virtues prescribed and preached to men by Christ, it is yet possible, that after all this, some other doctrines may inconveniently interpose, and intercept the uses and aims to which God hath designed the faith, and at once obstruct the superstructing of all Christian life upon it.

Doctrines among the Romanists.

2. Of this sort the catalogue is, or soon may be, far larger than will be fitly inserted in this place. For upon this occasion we might be engaged to enter on the examination of the Romish doctrines, 1. of penances; 2. of indulgences; 3. of the treasury of the Church, made up, beside the blood of Christ, of the supererogating merits of some, and applied to the benefit and pardon of others; 4. of the improvableness of attrition into contrition, by the priest's aid, without the

CHAP. XII.

sinner's change of life; 5. of purgatory; 6. of dispensableness of oaths; 7. of arts of equivocation; 8. of cessation of allegiance in subjects to an heretical prince, and some others the like; but especially of the infallibility and inerrableness which is assumed and inclosed by the Romish Church without any inerrable ground to build it on, and being taken for an unquestionable principle, is, by the security it brings along with it, apt to betray men to the foulest whether sins or errors, whensoever this pretended infallible guide shall propose them; and seeing it is just with God to permit those which think they stand so surely, to fall most dangerously, and because what some witty and subtle men of this and former ages have been experimented to fall into, may in the future possibly become the Romanists' case, and because the assuming of infallibility is by way of interpretation the presuming and affirming every thing to be infallibly true and good which they shall ever believe or teach *de fide*, or pronounce to be duty,—and there is nothing so false or sacrilegious, but it is possible they may thus teach or pronounce of it,—for these reasons, I say, it will be impossible to free this doctrine of theirs, which hath so vast and comprehensive an influence on the opinions and actions of all those who have espoused it, from the guilt[k] of which now we speak, that of hindering the superstructing of Christian life, and the several branches thereof, on the foundation.

The doctrine of infallibility.

Of the pope.

3. And if, as the Jesuits define, this infallibility of the Church be supposed to be seated in the persons, or chair, or succession of popes, it is presently obvious and clear, that, as Almain and Ocham[l] have not thought it irreverent to aver that any such person is[m] *deviabilis, hæreticabilis, apostatabilis, damnabilis*, "liable to error, heresy, apostasy, damnation" itself, so they that believe him an infallible guide,

[k] Subditos illi (papæ) simpliciter obligari ad credendum, adeo irrationabile et blasphemiæ plenum est, ut etiam quacunque hæresi pestilentius inveniatur, "that subjects should be absolutely and simply bound to believe the pope, is so irrational and full of blasphemy, that it is found more pestilent than any heresy whatsoever."—Wesselus Groningens. de dignit. et potest. Eccl., cap. i. p. 748. Written about 200 years since. Valde periclitaretur vita justi si penderet ex vita papæ—"The life of a just man would be in very great hazard, if it depended on the life of the pope."—Ibid.

[l] [See Almain, Opuscula, De suprema potestate ecclesiastica, cap. xvi, xvii; ibid. Lect. in tertium compl. Distinct. xxiv. fol. Par. 1518.]

[m] Summorum pontificum plerique pestilenter erraverunt, &c. "Most of the popes have erred pestilently."—Ibid.

must in consequence to their opinion, if they pursue it, follow him to all these dangers; and when Pope Stephen hath been by St. Cyprian accused of heresy, Pope Liberius by St. Athanasius, Pope Honorius by all Christians; when the chairs of those bishops, which have not secured their persons from notorious impiety of living, that fouler guilt than heresy,—*ἀθεΐας εἶδος*, 'a species of atheism,' as Nilus[n] truly saith on this occasion,—can with no more pretence or colour of proof secure them from defining of errors, or tolerating of sins; and when the writers of their lives, Onuphrius and Platina[o], who have told us how much more than possible the former is,—relating the incests, witchcrafts, cruelties of Alexander the Sixth, the idolatrous sacrifices of Marcellinus, Celestine's applications to the devil in pursuit of the papacy, and his disclaiming his part in heaven, so he might obtain that earthy dignity,—have given us reason to foresee the possibility also, and all the ill consequences and abodes of the latter: it cannot be temerarious or unreasonable to affirm, that what hath been may be, and in like manner, that the doctrines of any ancient heretic may, in some new shape, be imbibed by a cardinal, and being so, may not forsake him when he is made pope, but beget a desire very consequent to his belief, an appetite of propagating his persuasions, and so that practices may be allowed, and articles taught by the pope, most contrary to the design of this foundation, and the Church that hath imposed on her sons the belief of her infallibility, draw all that understand it in this sense, (for I see another is now affixed to it by some Romanists,) and pay this ready obedience to it, into the same snare of heresy, or impiety, or both.

CHAP. XII.

4. For of this we have too frequent experience, how hard it is to dispossess a Romanist of any doctrine or practice of

The ill effects of it.

[n] [*εἰ δὲ ὁ πάπας οὐ πάντη τὰ περὶ συνείδησιν ὑγιὴς, τῷ δὲ τοιούτῳ καὶ ἀσθενῆσαι περὶ τὴν πίστιν ἐνδέχεται· ψεῦδος λοιπὸν, ὡς ἀδύνατον τὸν πάπαν τῶν ὀρθῶν ἐκπεσεῖν δογμάτων· αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ περὶ τὴν συνείδησιν ἁμαρτάνειν, οὐκ εἶδος ἀθεΐας ἐστί; Θεὸν γάρ φησιν ὁ Παῦλος τοῖς μὲν λόγοις ὁμολογοῦσιν, τοῖς δ' ἔργοις ἀρνοῦνται· πῶς οὖν ἔργοις μὲν ἐνδέχεται τὸν πάπαν ἀρνεῖσθαι Θεὸν λόγοις δὲ οὐδαμῶς;*] "What amulet hath the pope to preserve him from denying God in His words, who so oft doth it in his works?" Nil. de Prim., [p. 32.]

[o] [See Platina De Vitis Pontificum with Onuphrius' Supplement, Ed. Colon. fol. 1574. pp. 35, 143, 328. But Hammond has gone beyond the author whom he quotes, in his assertions of the wickedness of these popes, and has moreover erroneously accused Celestine of what is attributed to Silvester the Second.]

CHAP. XII.

that present Church, for which he hath no grounds either in antiquity, or Scripture, or rational deductions from either, but the contrary to all these, as long as he hath that one hold, or fortress, his persuasion of the infallibility of that Church which teacheth or prescribeth it. And indeed it were as unreasonable for us to accuse or wonder at this constancy in particular superstructed errors, be they never so many, whilst the αἴτιον ψεύδους, this first great comprehensive falsity is maintained, as to disclaim the conclusion, when the premises, that duly induce it, are embraced. And then that other errors, and guilts of the highest nature neither are, nor shall be entertained by those that are thus qualified for them, must sure be a felicity to which this doctrine hath no way entitled them, and that for which they can have no security for one hour, but by renouncing that principle which equally obligeth to the belief of truths and falsehoods, embracing of commendable and vicious practices,—worshipping of Christ in heaven, and under the species of bread; of the Son, and of the mother of God,—when they are once received and proposed to them by that Church.

5. But instead of any fuller view of these, I shall mention some few of those which our closer and latter experience hath made most familiar to us, and given us reason to look on with a quickness of sense and dread, but those such, as being not entered into the confessions of any national Church, are not properly chargeable either on papists or protestants, but on particular dogmatizers of both parties. From whom the doctrines being infusible into all, it will be more necessary to forewarn all of the danger of them.

The persuasion of the Solifidian.

6. Such is first the persuasion of the Solifidians, that all religion consists in believing aright, that the being of orthodox, as that is opposed to erroneous, opinions, is all that is on our part required to render our condition safe, and our persons acceptable in the sight of God.

7. This is a persuasion frequently observable in those that are forward to separate from all who differ in matters of doctrine from them, who place sanctity in their opinions,—as generally heretics do,—and make the dissents of other men, the characters of animal, carnal gospellers: and the influence of this on the matter in hand, the superstructing Christian

life upon our faith, is most evident; for if we should give that persuasion of theirs the greatest advantage, and suppose the doctrines, in the belief of which they place so much efficacy, to be these very fundamental doctrines which this discourse hath defined and specified, yet in case the believing of those aright be conceived the one and only necessary to salvation, it is evident that the superstructing of good life,—the thing to which those doctrines relate, and in respect of which they are styled fundamental,—is *ipso facto* become unnecessary.

8. For when it shall be once resolved that orthodox opinions are able to secure men of God's favour, and, that being assumed as a principle, the search of them, being a work of the brain, shall generally be discernible—as Aristotle[p] observes of the study of the mathematics—to have nothing repugnant to passions in it, and when those articles of belief are conveyed to us with such evidence that we have no temptation to doubt of the truth of them, what argument is there remaining to any rational man, which can move him so superfluously and unnecessarily to set upon that more laborious and ungrateful task of mortifying lusts, of subduing of passions, of combating and overcoming the world, of offering violence to his importunate, vigorous, carnal appetites? If he that is to be baptized might be admitted to that state of justified Christians, and therein to a right of inheriting the kingdom of heaven, by a profession of the articles of his creed, and an undoubted persuasion and belief of the truth of them, what an impertinent tyranny were it to increase his burden, to refuse and delay his admission, till he should undertake the whole vow, of "forsaking the devil and all his works," of "keeping God's holy will and commandments, and walking in the same all the days of his life." What use even of prayer, of the sacraments, of charity, of faith itself, in any other notion but that wherein he considers it, and thinks himself assuredly possessed of it.

9. The issue is clear, the Solifidian looks upon his faith or articles of his belief, as the entire structure, not as the rudiments or foundation, as the utmost accomplishment and end, and not only as the first elements of his task; and so

[p] [Arist. Eth. Nic. vi. 5.]

CHAP. XII.

this persuasion of his most unhappily, but most regularly, obstructs and intercepts the building any more upon it, which, if he conceived himself no further advanced than the laying a few stones, a bare foundation, he would rationally think himself engaged and obliged to prosecute to a far greater perfection.

10. Hitherto we have considered this persuasion of the Solifidian at the best and fairest advantage, and supposed the opinions on which he so relies to be the true, Christian, apostolical, and fundamental opinions; but if we should proceed further and consider how many other opinions there are abroad in the world, which being neither fundamental, nor apostolical, nor arrived so far as to any fair probability of truth, do yet pretend to be the only sanctified necessary doctrines, and such as every man that believes them is a pure Christian professor, and whosoever questions or examines the truth of them is to be looked on as a carnal gospeller,—whose arguments, though never so unanswerable, are to be resisted as so many temptations,—and many of these in their own nature, over and above this pharisaical opinion of the sanctity of them, very apt to intermit our watch, to slacken our diligence, to give a *supersedeas* to industry, it would be most evident that the Solifidian's persuasions do most directly and immediately resist God's principal design in revealing His truths, obstruct the superstructure of Christian life on this foundation.

11. But I shall not enlarge on the mention of these, any further than they are likely to fall under some other head of this ensuing discourse. Meanwhile it is worth remembering, what Epiphanius[q] observes of the primitive times, that wickedness was the only heresy, that *ἀσέβεια* and *εὐσέβεια*, 'impious' and 'pious' living divided the whole Christian world into erroneous and orthodox, by which we are advertised how far we are from performing the engagements of our Christianity, if we insist so passionately or so intently on the truth of our beliefs, as not to proceed to as vigorous a pursuit of all just, sober, and godly living, to a strict uniform regulation of our practice, according to the obligations of our most holy faith.

[q] [S. Epiphan. adv. Hær. lib. i. tom. i. p. 5.]

CHAP. XIII.

OF THE FIDUCIARY.

The doctrine of faith being a full persuasion.

1. The second obstructive which I shall mention, is that of the fiduciary, that having resolved faith to be the only instrument of his justification, and excluded good works from contributing any thing toward it, proceeds to define his faith to be a full persuasion, that the promises of Christ belong to him, or an assurance of his particular election; which he that doth, and seriously believes himself to conclude aright, that he is a true believer, or that the only thing which he is obliged to acquire and arrive to, is this kind of full assurance, as it excludes all fear or doubting of his estate, and yet further asserts, as many do, the priority of it, in order of time, before repentance, and so obliges himself to be sure of his election and salvation, before he repents or amends his life, is fortified and secured by this one deceit from all obligation that Christian religion can lay upon him to superstruct Christian practice or holy living upon his faith.

Obstructive to good life.

2. For 1. if assurance of his good estate be the one necessary, then it is evident that good life, which is a thing formally distinct from that assurance, is not necessary: 2. if his estate be already safe,—and if it be not, then his believing it is the believing a lie, and God's command to believe is a command to believe a lie, and so one man is justified and saved merely by giving credit to a falsity, and all others rejected and damned barely upon their not believing the like falsity,—then it needs no assistance or supply from good life to make it a good estate, or give him grounds to believe it such: 3. if he be justified before he repents and amends his life, then nothing can hinder the continuance of his justified estate, in case he do not repent at present, nor intercept his salvation, in case he do never repent; and this, not only by force of that maxim generally received by these fiduciaries, that he that is once justified can never be unjustified, nothing can separate him from the favour of God, or interscind his justified estate; but also without that auxiliary, by all rules

CHAP. XIII.

of discourse and consequence, for he that is this day in a good estate without repentance, may be so to-morrow by the same reason, and so on, to the last day and hour of his life; repentance will be no more necessary to the continuance than to the inchoation of his good estate.

The pretended use of good life to the justifying of our faith, vain in four respects: the first,

3. Or if amendment and good life be affirmed necessary in order to the approving of his faith or justification either to himself or others, though not to his justification itself, 1. this cannot be reconciled with the fiduciary's doctrine, for his faith being a full assurance, includes that approbation of his justification to himself, and so he that hath that already, needs not good life to help him to it, and for the approving it to others, that is perfectly extrinsical and unnecessary, and impertinent to his justification, either in the sight of God, or in his own eyes; for as God judgeth not as man judgeth, so neither can man's disapproving of any man, be a just reason to move him, who believeth he sins and renounces the faith, if he permit himself to doubt, to admit any the least beginning of doubt of the goodness of his estate, or truth of his justification, because of the disapproving of men. And secondly, it is God's justification, God's pardon of sin, the promise or hope of which hath sufficient power to persuade carnal men to forsake sin, and enter the rules of Christian life, and not the approbation of men.

the second,

the third,

4. Thirdly, in case the fiduciary were in the right, as he must be supposed to think himself to be, the men that did not believe him justified, should be unrighteous judges, passing a judgment contrary to God's judgment, and why should the fiduciary that supposeth himself to be approved of God without repentance, take such pains to approve himself to man's judgment, which the Apostle disclaims being judged by.

Rom. viii. 33. [1 Cor. iv. 3, 4.]

the fourth.

5. Fourthly, how can it reasonably be said that good life is necessary to approve our justification or our faith, when good life is acknowledged to have nothing to do in the matter of justification, and when faith is so defined as it hath no connotation of repentance or good life? If faith be a full persuasion of my being justified, the only human way for me to approve this to others, i. e. to make others believe that I am thus persuaded, is to testify it by word or oath,

which is the one means agreed on betwixt men to make faith of the truth of any thing which no man knows but myself, and if man were supposed to know it, it would follow that I should not need means to induce that approbation.

6. The one other imaginable means of approving it to man, were the testimony of God either by voice from heaven, or by some other like means of revelation, or by my doing miracles in God's name, which might impress some image of divine authority and veracity upon me; and so still good life is not the proper means for that end of approving us to men, especially if others believe what the fiduciary doth, that faith may be without good works, and good works, as far as to the eye of man, without faith, for that being granted it follows necessarily that one cannot prove or approve the other.

The Jew's premature persuasion of his good estate.

7. Thus did the Jew by saying and thinking that he had Abraham to his father, persuading himself of his particular irrespective election, think it safe first, and consequently prudent to run into all foul sins, and no more to think himself obliged or concerned by John Baptist's, or Christ's, or His Apostles' persuasions to bring forth fruits of amendment, immediately before the judgments of God came out against that people, than he had been all the time before; nor could his belief of God, his expectation of another life, allowed by the Pharisees, his obscure belief in the Messiah promised, the law, the prophets, the descent of God from heaven, the raising Jesus from the dead, prevail or gain in upon him, as long as he continued to conceive these privileges of Abraham's sons to belong unto him.

The Christian's.

8. And in like manner the Christian professor, who hath imbibed this fiduciary doctrine, and is confident of his present and imperishable right in the favour of God, when he commits those sins against which the gospel denounces that "they which do those things shall not inherit the kingdom of God," he is, if he acknowledge that part of the gospel, and retain the belief of his personal election, necessitated to believe those acts, when committed by him, to cease to be those sins which they would be, when another man committed them; and then what necessity soever lies

[Gal. v. 21; 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10.]

CHAP. XIII.

on him that hath that guilt upon him, to reform the sins that contract that guilt, he which is supposed not guilty, cannot be so obliged, and it is hard to imagine what possible consideration, what messenger from the dead should be able to persuade him to repent, till he hath deposited that premature persuasion of his being in Christ.

The fiduciary's ground, Christ's dying for none but the elect.

9. One special ground of the fiduciary's mis-persuasion is the doctrine of God's giving Christ for all the elect, and for none but them, all others being supposed to be left by God in a state of absolute destitution and dereliction, upon no other foreseen demerit, but only the guilt of Adam's sin imputed to them, and not removed by Christ.

10. And upon that doctrine imbibed, 1. it is not unreasonable or difficult for him that is thus persuaded, that supposes his danger to flow from no real sin or guilt of his own, but only that which being committed by another is imputed to him, to believe that there is nothing required of him, neither repentance nor good works, but only a full assurance of his own being elected, and rescued in Christ, i. e. a believing his own wishes, an aerial, magical faith, to work his deliverance for him.

11. Secondly, what should make it necessary for him to repent and amend, who either without respect to any degree of amendment, is supposed to be elected to eternal bliss, or without respect to sin, to be irreversibly reprobated, i. e. to any person thus considered, either as elect, or left reprobate and non-elect in the whole mass of lapsed mankind?

12. Nay, I might add, what obligation can lie on any man so much as to believe,—whatsoever the notion of faith be, even to believe he shall be saved,—when it is supposed by him to be certainly decreed that he shall be saved, without foresight of, or respect unto this faith of his.

Two further obstructions to good life.

13. Upon these premises it cannot but be reasonable to conclude, and useful further to take notice in the next place, that these two doctrines, 1. of 'Christ's dying for none but the elect,' 2. of 'God's absolute irrespective decrees of election and reprobation,' are inconvenient interpositions, which are most apt to obstruct and hinder the building of good life, even where the foundation thereof is received entirely,

and not questioned in any part thereof, of which I shall therefore further treat in the two next chapters. CHAP. XIII.

14. Meanwhile, as an appendix to this chapter, it will be just to take notice, that some men have thought it necessary, in the definition of faith, to change the 'full assurance' into a milder style of 'reliance,' which if it be not joined with other changes in that doctrine, as in that particular of the priority of faith before repentance, it is certainly 1. as erroneous, 2. as liable to the charge of obstructing good life, as that other doctrine of assurance hath appeared to be. Of faith's being defined by reliance.

15. For the first, where there is no divine promise on which to rely,—as to the unreformed sinner remaining such the whole Bible affordeth none,—there what is reliance, but presumption, reliance on a broken reed, a building without a foundation? whereas on the other side if any promise were producible, whereon it were safe to rely, what scruple could the Christian there make against entertaining the fullest assurance? for that without question will be supported abundantly by such a promise. The error of it.

16. For the second, it is visible, he that continues unreformed and impenitent in his course of sin, and is by the preacher induced to rely on Christ for his salvation, and is further taught, that this reliance is that faith by which he is justified, and the one thing that is required of him to his salvation, what necessity can be imagined to lie on that man to reform or amend any vice, or to do any thing but rely on Christ for the pardon of it, for justification and salvation? It is superfluous to pursue this any further, which so discernibly falls under the inconveniences that have been shewed to belong to assurance, and are mentioned in the former part of this chapter, too largely to be here repeated. The danger of obstructing good life.

CHAP. XIV.

OF CHRIST'S DYING FOR NONE BUT THE ELECT.

1. Now for that doctrine of Christ's dying for none but the elect, i. e. according to the opinion of those which thus teach, for a small remnant of the world, as it is asserted without any pretence or colour of Scripture proof, nay, in

CHAP. XIV.

opposition to as plain distinct affirmations as can be produced for any article in the Creed, so is it of very ill consequence to the superstructing of good life.

Universal redemption the doctrine of Scripture.

2. That Christ's dying for all is the express doctrine of the Scripture, is elsewhere manifested by the phrases of the greatest latitude, used in this matter, 1. κόσμος the 'world,' which is a word of the widest extent, and although it be sometimes used more restrainedly, yet never doth nor can in any reason be interpreted to signify a far smaller disproportionable part of the world. Secondly, 'all,' which word, though it be sometimes restrained by the matter, and doth not always signify every person or thing, yet generally it must be extended as far as the matter is capable of, and must not be restrained without some considerable reason for doing so. Thirdly, 'every man,' a form of speaking which excludes all exceptions, of which some general phrases are oft capable. Fourthly, 'those that perish,' those that are damned, those that deny Christ, and "purchase to themselves swift damnation," which being added to the number of those which are saved by His death, and acknowledged by all opposers to be so, make up the whole unlimited number of all mankind. Fifthly, 'as many as are fallen in Adam and dead through him,' which phrase is by all but Pelagius and his followers, supposed to comprehend every son of Adam, every branch of his progeny.

[John iv. 42; 1 John ii. 2.]

[1 Tim. ii. 6.]

[Heb. ii. 9.]

[1 Cor. i. 18; 2 Pet. ii. 1.]

[1 Cor. xv. 22.]

Of the Creeds. The Nicene.

3. And accordingly, though the Apostles' Creed make no other mention of this than is contained in styling Jesus Christ, our Lord, i. e. the Lord, by title of redemption, of us all indefinitely, and particularly of every person, who is appointed to make that confession of his faith, i. e. every one that is admitted to baptism, yet the Nicene Creed hath inserted some words for the further explication of that article, "who for us men and for our salvation came down," &c., which signify all mankind to have their interest in it.

The Apostolic.

4. Nay if it be observed in the Apostles' Creed, that the two first articles are corresponding and proportionable one to the other,—to 'God' in the first article, 'Jesus Christ' in the second; to 'Father Almighty' in the first, 'His only Son' in the second; to 'maker of heaven and earth' in the first, 'our Lord' in the second,—we shall have reason to

infer that as 'heaven and earth' in the first article signify in the greatest latitude all and every creature in the world to have been created by the Father, so the 'our' in the second article is set to denote all and every one of us, every man in the world, without any exception, to be redeemed by God the Son.

Of the Church of England in the Catechism.

5. And accordingly the Catechism of the Church of England established by law, and preserved in our Liturgy as a special part of it, expounds the Creed in this sense, "I believe in God the Father which made me and all the world; 2. In God the Son who redeemed me and all mankind; 3. In God the Holy Ghost who sanctifieth me and all the elect people of God;" where, as creation is common to more creatures than redemption, and redemption than sanctification, so mankind, to which redemption belongs, as it is far narrower than the world, or the works of God's creation, so it is far wider than the catalogue of "all the elect people of God," to whom sanctification belongs.

In the Communion Services.

6. So in other parts of our Liturgy, in consecrating the Eucharist, we have this form of prayer, "Almighty God . . . which didst give Thine only Son Jesus Christ to suffer death upon the cross for our redemption, and made there, by His one oblation of Himself once offered, a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world;" and accordingly in the administration of that Sacrament, the elements are delivered to every communicant in this form, "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee," and, "The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ which was shed for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life;" which supposeth it the doctrine of our Church, avowed and professed, that Christ's death was not only sufficient for all, if God would have so intended and designed it, but that He was actually designed and given for all, not only as many as come to that Sacrament,—which yet is wider than the elect,—but us men, or mankind in general, whose salvation was sought by God by this means.

In the Articles.

7. So in our Articles also, "Christ suffered for us . . . that He might be a sacrifice not only for original sin, but also for all the actual sins of men," Art. 2. And, "By Christ who is the only mediator of God and men . . eternal life is pro-

CHAP. XIV.

mised to mankind," Art. 7. And, "Christ came as a lamb . . that by the offering of Himself once made He might take away the sins of the world," Art. 15. And, "The oblation of Christ once made is a perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world," Art. 31. All which I have thus largely set down to shew the perfect consonancy of our persecuted Church to the doctrine of Scripture and antiquity in this point, whereon so much depends for the stating and determining other differences, which have also a special influence on practice.

The ill consequences of the denying it.

8. As for the ill consequences toward the obstructing of good life, which are considerable to attend this one doctrine of Christ's dying for none but the elect, they will be most discernible by attempting the reformation and change of any vicious Christian that believes that doctrine, or the comfort of any disconsolate despairing Christian, that hath gotten into this hold, and remains fortified in the belief of it.

In the reducing a vicious Christian.

9. For the former, it is evident, and that which he is supposed to believe, if he believe the foundation,—as I presume him now to do when I set the case of a vicious Christian,—that there is no salvation to be had for any sinner, but only by the sufferings of Christ, and that redemption by Him wrought for such. If therefore a vicious liver, believing that Christ died for none but the elect, shall have any attempt made on him to reform and amend his life, it is certain that one medium to induce him to it must be a tender of mercy from Christ, of present pardon and future bliss, upon his reformation. But if he be able to reply, that that mercy belongs only to the elect, and he is none of them, it necessarily follows that he that would reduce this stray sheep, must either prove convincingly to him that he is one of the elect, or else hath no further to proceed in this attempt.

10. And if he thus attempt to persuade the vicious Christian that he is one of the elect, then, 1. the very attempt confesses to him that a vicious person, remaining such, may be in the number of the elect, and from thence he will presently be able to infer, that then he needs not reformation of life to constitute him such, and if so, then reformation of

life is not the condition on which only bliss is to be expected, and without which it is not to be had, it being supposed and acknowledged by both parties, that all the elect shall have it, and so the medium which was thought necessary to persuade his reformation,—the tender of mercy from Christ upon reformation,—is already vanished, and consequently it is to no purpose to persuade him that he is one of the elect, which was useful only for the enforcing this medium; and so the very making this attempt is destructive to the only end of it.

11. But if this were not the result of this attempt, yet, secondly, it is in the progress agreed to be necessary that he persuade this person that he is one of the elect; and what possible medium can he use to prove that to a vicious person? *A priori*, from any secret decree of God's it is certain he cannot demonstrate it, for he hath never entered into God's secrets, and it is sure the Scripture hath revealed nothing of it, whatsoever it saith of the book of life, never affirming that particular man's name is written there; and then the one possible way of attempting it is *a posteriori*, from the fruits of election, and those are not supposable in him who is supposed a vicious liver, who lives in that estate,—and is by him acknowledged to do so, for otherwise why should he think it necessary to reduce him?—wherein he that lives "shall not inherit the kingdom of God." For his proof, whatever it is, will easily be retorted, and the contrary proved, by interrogating, "Shall the adulterer, the drunkard, the vicious Christian, inherit the kingdom of God?" If he shall, what need I that am now exhorted to reform my life, reform it? If he shall not, then certainly I that am such am none of the elect, for all that are elect shall certainly "inherit the kingdom of God." [1 Cor. vi. 9, 10.] [Isa. lxv. 9.]

12. The only reserve imaginable is, that this vicious Christian be persuaded to believe in Christ, and if he do so, he shall by that know that he is one of the elect, and so that his sins shall be pardoned, &c. But if this be the method made use of, then, 1. this is not the attempting to reform, to work repentance, which was the thing proposed in this first case, but to work faith in him; and with men of those opinions these are two distinct things, faith and repentance,

CHAP. XIV.

and the former must be before the other, and is resolved to do the whole business without the other, and consequently this is not the way to bring the sinner to repentance, but rather to assure him that he hath no need of it, his business may be done without it.

13. Secondly, this very attempt of persuading him to believe in Christ, as that signifies the full persuasion that the promises of Christ belong to him, is, supposing that Christ died for none but the elect, as desperate an attempt as the former; for why should he believe that Christ died for him, who died only for the elect, when he hath no means to persuade him that he is one of the elect, but great and strong presumptions to the contrary; for to believe that Christ died for him for whom He died not, is to believe a downright falsity, and such is the believing Christ died for him, who both believes that He died only for the elect, and that he himself is none of that number.

14. And in like manner the former inconvenience returns again, for if the vicious Christian be advised to believe that Christ died for him, remaining such, and that must be the case if this faith must precede repentance, it is by that advice presupposed and granted to him, that Christ, which died only for the elect, who shall certainly "inherit the kingdom of God," died for this vicious person, of whom the Scripture saith, that he shall not "inherit the kingdom." And again, if he may believe what he is advised to believe, that Christ died for him, as now he is, an unreformed Christian, then what needs he reformation to make him capable of the benefits of His death? And so still it is impossible, where this opinion is imbibed and unremoved, to found any convincing argument to reform a vicious Christian.

15. But this hath no such appearance of difficulty to him that hath received the doctrine of universal, but conditional redemption, i. e. of Christ dying for all, if all will take care to perform the condition required by Him, and to which His grace is ready to enable him. For then, how great soever the sins of any unreformed person are, it is evident that Christ died for him, because He died for all; that He died for those sins of his, because He died for all sins; only he

must reform, and forsake his sins, or else he shall never receive the benefit of His death. And then, though there be that pleasure in sin, which the habitual sinner cannot be persuaded to part with, unless he must,—unless he discern the danger of retaining, and the advantage of parting with it,—yet when he hath such arguments as these proposed to him, eternal bliss in exchange for short temporary pleasures, assurance of this upon reformation, and an impossibility and absolute desperation without it, the vicious Christian, if he have advanced no further than so, and if his habit of sin have not corrupted his principles, may think it reasonable to reform and amend upon such terms as these, the preacher may hope to superstruct good life upon such a foundation.

In comforting a disconsolate Christian.

16. And the like inconveniences are found to be consequent to this opinion of Christ's dying for none but the elect, whensoever any comfort is offered to a disconsolate despairing Christian; for it is not possible to give him any comfort, but by fetching it from Christ; and that he shall receive no benefit from Christ, is the affirmation whereon all his despair is founded, and the one way of removing this dismal apprehension, is, to convince him that Christ's death and the benefits thereof, either do, or, if he perform the condition required of him, shall certainly belong to him.

17. This upon the belief of universal redemption is presently so far done, that if he set industriously and sincerely to perform the commands of Christ, he can have no ground or pretence of doubting, but it shall prove successful to him, and so all that he hath to do is to endeavour by prayer and use of the means, and by good hope, of which he hath such clear grounds, to qualify himself for this blessed condition, and in the mean time hath no excuse to continue in this melancholy, mournful posture, who hath so cheerful a prospect before him.

18. But to him that believes Christ died for none but the elect, and whose comforter is of that opinion also, there is no possible reply to his objections, or satisfaction to his sad bodings: for that no mercy doth or can belong to him, he is resolved upon this ground, because Christ died not for him, and the doctrine that Christ died for the elect yields him no

CHAP. XIV.

relief, because he is verily persuaded that he is none of the elect; and when the number of the elect is defined to be so small and disproportionable to the number of the reprobates, and so there is really all odds against him that he is not of the number of the few; when his fears shall help to increase that odds, and make him less capable of believing what is so much less probable; when his present despairs, being so contrary to that faith, assurance of his salvation, which alone can justify, in his opinion, or bear witness to his election, shall by necessary consequence bear witness against him; and when the Scripture, that should, and in this case alone can interpose for his relief, doth certainly affirm nothing of his particular election; and lastly, when what it saith of Christ's dying for all, is by him misunderstood to belong but to a few, it is not imaginable what can be said to this man to persuade him that his progress is not rational, that he doth not well to despair, who hath so slight grounds to build any hope, and so much weightier to comply with and assist his fears in overwhelming him.

19. And then as necessary as hope is to labour, encouragement to quickening of action, so necessary is the belief of universal redemption to the superstructing Christian life, where the foundation of Christian belief is already laid.

CHAP. XV.

OF THE IRRESPECTIVE DECREES OF ELECTION AND REPROBATION.

1. The same is discernible also, and need not more largely be declared in that doctrine of God's decrees of salvation and damnation, which hath been taken up by some both of the Romish and reformed Churches, affixing them to men's particular entities, absolutely considered, without any respect to all qualifications and demeanours; which, whatsoever else be believed of God or Christ, is, as far as it is laid to heart, and permitted to have influence on carnal men's practice, a most visible hindrance to the building of good life upon it.

CHAP. XV.

2. The Church of England having not so much as named, but purposely avoided the mention of any decree of reprobation, and for election, or predestination to life, having set it down in an admirable temper, in order to gratifying all, and not provoking any of the several persuasions, Art. 17,—as might more largely be made to appear, if it were here seasonable,—hath yet providently foreseen the dangerous downfall that from this her doctrine,—the affirming no more, nor no more particularly than she doth,—is to be expected to curious as well as carnal men, i. e. to those that enter into further speculations herein, which is the itch of curiosity, and content not themselves with the simplicity of that doctrine within which this Church hath contained herself. And to prevent particularly all advantage that might be taken from hence to the doctrine of the irrespective decrees, to which is inseparably joined the confining all the promises to the elect, the article concludes with an earnest expression of care and warning to the contrary, that "we must receive God's promises in such wise, as they are generally set forth to us in the holy Scripture, as in our doing we are to follow that will of God, which we have expressly declared to us in the word of God," which one passage excludes and bars out that whole doctrine.

The article of our Church.

3. As for the particularity of the dangers and hindrances of good life, that are directly consequent to this doctrine, they are presently discerned; for if that salvation, which Christ came to purchase for a few, and in like manner that dereliction or reprobation that irreversibly involves the far greater multitude, be not distributed according to the qualifications or performances of men, whether works, or love, or hope, or repentance, or the want of any or all of these, but only by the absolute irrespective will of God, what rational argument can either from Christ's promises or threats, be produced in any time of temptation to any sin,—which is the special season for such arguments to be offered to any,—which may be of force to persuade a reasonable man, or Christian professor, to renounce that present pleasure that comes in competition with duty?

The doctrine of irrespective decrees.

4. Either the promises of Christ, or the terrors of the Lord, or the authority of the commander, must be the topic

CHAP. XV.

whence that argument is drawn, and all force of any of these is utterly taken off by this doctrine.

Takes off the force, 1. Of promises,

5. Promises can be of no force unless they be believed to be conditional promises, and unless that duty which is proposed to be enforced by those promises, be acknowledged to be part of that condition upon performance of which those promises do, and upon neglect of which those promises shall not belong to any; and the promises being but a transcript of the will and decree of God, a revelation made by Christ of that mystery, or secret, wrapt up before in God's eternal counsels concerning us, such as the decrees are supposed to have been, such must the promises be concluded to be; if the decrees be believed to be absolute, the promises must be absolute too, and consequently not conditional, which was the one qualification necessarily required to render them of any force to work on any, to restrain or invite any that were drawn or solicited another way.

6. For why should a man perform an ungrateful duty, undertake a difficulty, hazard a danger or diminution, deny himself any pleasurable enjoyment, upon a bare intuition of promises, (which by being such are represented with some disadvantage, lie under a considerable prejudice, and are acknowledged and experimented to be of less energy or force to allure or persuade than present possessions,) when he is all the while convinced that all the promises that he can possibly have any part in belong to him absolutely and irrespectively, and shall no more be secured to him upon the performance, than upon the neglect and omission of that duty?

2. Of terrors,

7. In like manner the terrors and menaces of Scripture are of as little force, for if they fall upon men's persons, and not upon their sins, omissions or commissions, if they are but the recitations and descriptions of God's decreed wrath, and those decrees and that wrath have no respect to the actual sins of men, but are terminated either in the innocent creature, or the child of lapsed Adam, i. e. either respect not sin at all, or else none but original sin,—which is no part of the present deliberation, whether it shall be committed, and I guilty of it or no,—then why should terrors restrain me from any sin, when there is any tender of present advantage to invite me to it?

8. All my fear and trembling will regularly be terminated in the decree on which all my misery depends, and not in the sin, which means me no ill, and consequently the aversion and dislike will naturally be fastened on that severe law that hath bound me in fatal chains of darkness before ever I saw light, and if it proceed any further, may be likely to ascend blasphemously unto and against that Judge that hath taken pleasure to enact that law, and so that doctrine may very probably take off from our love of God, but it is not imaginable which way this should produce in me any aversion or hatred against sin, which by this doctrine is cleared from being my enemy, from involving me into any mischief, designing the least treachery against me.

3. Of commands,

9. And lastly, for the authority of God's commands which forbid sin and command obedience, it can be no greater with any man toward the undertaking of good life, than that man believes the weight to be which God lays on the performance of them; and if God heed that no more than they, that espouse the doctrine of irrespective decrees, must consequently be supposed to believe Him to do; if in His decreeing His eternal rewards of bliss or woe He respect not our obedience or disobedience, but distribute both by a rule quite distant from that which is founded in His commands or revealed will, it will never be thought any near concernment or interest of ours to regulate our actions according to those commands, which have certainly much of strictness in them, much of contrariety to flesh and blood, but nothing of influence either on our weal or woe, as long as this doctrine is deemed to have any truth in it.

10. And so still the virtue and force of every of these three, which are the common standing inducements and engagements to obedience, is shrewdly allayed, if not wholly lost by this means.

4. Of gratitude.

11. And it is not the motive of gratitude, which is said to be the only score on which the elect perform their obedience, that can make any considerable difference in this matter, that can be sufficient to persuade him to abstain from any tempting sin, whom neither promises, nor terrors, nor precepts had been able to work upon.

12. First; because gratitude being but a return of love in

CHAP. XV.

him that hath a quick sense of God's loving him first, cannot have any propriety to the producing of that effect in any till he hath arrived to that sense, nor can it continue to do it when that sense is lost. And consequently a great number of the supposed elect shall be incapable of it, both they which are not yet come to this assurance, that they are of that number, and they that under any anguish of mind are returned to affrightments, or doubtings whether they have not been hypocrites and so reprobates all this while; and as these two sorts, according to their doctrine, comprehend a great and considerable number of the very elect,—of whom very few are arrived to that pitch of constant uninterrupted assurance of their election,—so gratitude, by being unuseful to them that are not thus assured, must be acknowledged unuseful to those who have the greatest want of it, and by being confined to the few which have this assurance quick and undisturbed within them, is concluded to have a very narrow and slender province to work on, a very small number of a very small number, a remnant of a remnant, being acknowledged to be inapplicable, and so consequently ineffectual to all others.

13. Secondly; because one other doctrine there is which constantly accompanies the doctrine of irrespective decrees, which supersedes all further dispute in this matter, the doctrine of the irresistibility of grace, in working whatsoever it works, which if it be once acknowledged, there is nothing to be affixed to gratitude,—or to any thing else in me,—which whatsoever it works at any time works by way of persuasion, not violence, and cannot be said so much as to contribute to the working of that which is supposed to be irresistibly wrought by the Spirit of God.

14. Thirdly; if these two arguments, which are only *ad homines*, and consider the elect only in these men's notion of the word, had no kind of force in them, yet still, this of gratitude, which is the one pretended reserve, must needs be impertinently pretended in this matter.

15. First; because the good life to which the foundation was laid by the Apostles' preaching, is not that of a few persons chosen out of the mass, but of all that receive the Christian profession,—for to all such certainly their preach-

ing was designed to pertain,—of which number there being a large proportion, which, according to the tenor of this doctrine, must be supposed to be non-elect, there will not be that matter of thanksgiving to any of them, nor consequently any account, upon which they can be persuaded to make those kind returns to God which the elect were more probably supposed to have engagement to do.

16. And secondly, it being Christ's errand and business into the world, to call not the righteous or the justified, but the unreformed, or sinners to repentance, to change them who need a change, and who, if they are by this doctrine supposable to be already from all eternity elected, are not yet before their calling or conversion affirmed to be actually justified, or received into God's favour,—any more than Saul was in the time of his journey to Damascus, when he "breathed out threatenings and slaughters against the Church,"—the conclusion must be, that any such unreformed sinner will not be capable of being wrought on by any such consideration of gratitude, and so Christ, not withstanding this only reserve, shall be wholly unsuccessful in His aim towards those who were the principal designed persons to whom He came, and predestined the benefits of His coming.

[Acts ix. 1.]

17. Thirdly, this of gratitude being by those that maintain this doctrine supposed to follow faith or assurance of their salvation, it is thereby acknowledged to have no force on those who have not this faith, though they do believe all the articles of their Creed, and so it can be no proper expedient to remove the hindrances which the belief of the irrespective decrees hath been said to interpose in the matter in hand, or to adapt good life to be superstructed on this, whatsoever it is imaginable to be on any other foundation.

CHAP. XVI.

CHAP. XVI.

OF THE PREDETERMINATION OF ALL THINGS.

The doctrine of God's predetermining all events.

1. And as the absolute predestination of the persons is able to evacuate all the force of these fundamentals, designed by God as motives of great energy to induce good life, so certainly is the opinion of God's predetermining and preordaining the means as well as the end, i. e. all the acts of man's will, the evil as well as the good, and so all the most enormous sins that are or ever shall be committed, most abundantly sufficient to do it.

2. I say not the doctrine of God's predisposing or preordering, or of His predetermining or decreeing that He will so and so dispose and order all things that come to pass, whether good or bad, for that looks on the things as done which are so disposed, and consequently includes not any influence or causality in the production of them, and so God, that brings light out of darkness, can dispose of the worst things, the foulest sins, the very crucifying of Christ, so as to bring health and salvation out of them.

Of preordering.

3. But betwixt this and predetermining that which is so disposed, the difference is wide, as much as betwixt a bloody designer's suborning his instrument to take away such a man's life, and the confessor's representing the horridness of the fact, and by that means bringing him to repentance; and though *ordinare*[b] in Latin, and τάττειν in Greek, be equivocal, and capable of both these notions, yet 'ordaining' and 'decreeing' in our English use, is not thus liable to be mistaken.

4. Secondly, I say not the doctrine of God's predetermining His own will, but His predetermining the acts of our will, or our volitions; great difference there is betwixt these two, as much as betwixt my willing a lawful thing myself, and my inducing another man to do that which is unlawful.

[b] Vide Junium ap. Strangium, [de voluntate et actionibus Dei circa peccatum, lib. iii. cap. 2.] p. 555. [4to. Amst. 1657.]

CHAP. XVI.

Of God's predetermining His own will.

5. For God doth predetermine His own will, as oft as He decrees to do this or that, which He might not have decreed to have done, or have decreed to have done the contrary; for when God's will is free to two things, to make or not to make a world, or such a world, and the like, His decreeing to make it, and to make it such, is the determining of His will. Thus when before all time God might have created man a necessary agent, to will and to do every thing that He wills and doth, after the same manner as the fire burneth, i. e. so as he could not do otherwise, yet it is evident that God chose to create him after the image of His own liberty, a voluntary free agent, that might deliberate and choose, and either do, or not do, or do this or the contrary to it; and so in like manner God may determine His own will not to hinder, but permit what He sees man inclinable to do, when He might on the other side have chosen to hinder or not to permit. And thus He did when He decreed to permit the malice of the Jews, the covetousness of Judas, the popularity of Pilate, to join all together in the crucifying of Christ, upon which it is said, that "His hand and His counsel," προώρισε γενέσθαι, "did predetermine this to be done," i. e. Christ to be crucified,—which was done by God's predetermining to permit, or not hinder, them to do what they by the free act of their own wills resolved to do,—no way intimating that God predetermined they should do it. [Acts iv. 28.]

6. And this predetermination of God's own will is so far from being the determining of ours, that it is distinctly and visibly the contrary, for supposing God to predetermine that I shall act freely, and that He will not determine my will to this or that object, it is certain from thence that my will is free in respect of God, and not predetermined by Him; and therefore that ordinary position, that "the predetermination of God's will hinders not the liberty of ours," which by being understood of God's will predetermining ours, is most grossly false, and implies a contradiction, a predetermination and not a predetermination, a liberty and not a liberty to the same thing, is yet most evidently true of God's predetermining His own will, or His own will being predetermined, for that, as it respecteth not our will, med-

CHAP. XVI.

dleth not with it at all, so it is far from hindering or taking away the liberty of it, but on the contrary, it being one act of God's eternal will, and so a predetermination thereof, that man shall be a free agent, and another act of the same divine will, that this or that act of our will shall be permitted and not hindered by God, either or both these predeterminations of God's will, necessarily infers the liberty of ours, which cannot but be free, when God hath predetermined it shall be free.

Of God's prescience.

7. Thirdly, I say not the doctrine of God's prescience, His eternal foresight of all that is ever done in the world; for that again supposeth or looketh on the thing as done, which is thus the object of His sight, and hath no kind of influence or causality in the production of it.

8. Some difficulty there is in conceiving a thing to be foreseen or foreknown by God, and yet to continue free to be done or not to be done. And the best way of explicating that difficulty will be, to suppose God's science to be infinitely extended in respect of time, as His presence in respect of place, and though speaking of infinity, we must acknowledge our understandings to be very imperfect, all the measures we have to conceive any thing, being finite, and so unequal and very unable to comprehend that which is infinite; yet if we will but conceive God's sight or science before the creation of the world to be co-extended to all and every part of the world, seeing every thing as it is, that which is past as past, future as future, that which is by Him predetermined, as necessary, and that which is left free as free, that which is done, and might have been otherwise, as done freely and contingently, and that which is not yet done, and may or may not be done, as that which is yet free and contingent, there will remain no difficulty in affirming that His prescience or foresight of any action of mine, or which is all one, His science or sight, from all eternity, lays no necessity on any thing to be, which is thus seen to come to pass, any more than my seeing the sun move, hath to do in the moving of it, it being certain, and necessary, and antecedent in order of nature, that that have a being, that hath a capacity of being seen, and only accidental and extrinsical to it, to be seen, when it is, and so the seeing

but an accessary, not a cause of its being; and it is most evident that God's foreseeing doth not include or connotate predetermining, any more than I decree with my intellect, or will with my apprehension, which is as if I should see with my ear or taste with my eye, i. e. confound the most distant faculties.

9. To this may be added, that God being acknowledged to see or foresee every thing as it is, it is as impossible that any thing should be in any other manner than He foresees it to be, as that it should not come to pass, when He sees it doth, or foresees it will come to pass: and consequently that God's foreseeing those things come to pass contingently, which do come to pass contingently, is a most certain proof that there are some contingents in the world. So likewise when God foresees and foretels that Judas will freely and voluntarily, and against all engagements and obligations to the contrary, betray and sell Christ, that the Jews would not be gathered by Christ when He was most solicitous and sedulous in gathering them, it is as certainly conclusible from the argument of God's prescience, that they will voluntarily and freely do this, and obstinately resist their own good, as that they will do it at all, the manner being foreseen by God, who cannot be deceived, as truly as the thing is foreseen by Him.

10. And if there should yet be any doubt,—as Socinus and his followers, men very well exercised, and skilled in the *κινεῖν ἀκίνητα*, 'removing of those things which have continued immoveable in the Church,' have more than doubted,—whether God foresees any more than He determines, and consequently whether it may not safely be affirmed that He doth not foresee all things because He cannot be conceived to predetermine all things, it will presently appear, that as this is most irrational, so is it most false; irrational to grant an infiniteness of God's other attributes and powers, His omnipresence, omnipotence, &c., and to question the infinity of His science, and apparently false, if only God's predictions to the prophets be considered; for there we see many things to be foretold, and consequently learn them to have been foreseen, which they that make this doubt, do truly resolve cannot be predetermined by

CHAP. XVI.

God, and, rather than they will believe them predetermined by Him, deny them to be foreseen, viz., the infidelity and sins of men[c], which God cannot will or decree in their opinion, and which they must consequently acknowledge to have been both contingent and future, when they were foretold by Him, and not to have lost their nature by being foretold by Him.

The doctrine of predetermination noxious to practice.

11. Having thus separated this doctrine of God's predetermining all events, from these three other things, which the haste of disputers hath sometimes confounded with it, it will now be presently discernible how noxious and obstructive this doctrine is to the superstructing all good life. For first, that which is predetermined by God is absolutely necessary and unavoidable; no man hath or can resist any

Jer. v. 22.

decree of His; "the bounds which are placed to the sea by a perpetual decree, are such as it cannot pass," and "though the waves toss themselves, yet can they not prevail, though they roar, yet can they not pass over," and such is the nature of all decrees of God. And if the actions of men were under any such, (as first, by the expostulation there, and

ver. 23.

secondly, by the mention of their "rebellious heart," and thirdly, by the opposition which is set betwixt the sea, that cannot pass the bounds, and the sinner that can, it is most evident they are not,) this would necessarily preclude all choice, and then, as Tertullian saith, lib. ii. [cap. 6.] contr. Marcion., *Nec boni nec mali merces jure pensaretur ei, qui aut bonus aut malus necessitate fuisset inventus, non voluntate,* "there would be no reward of good or evil, if men were good or evil by necessity, and not by choice;" and as Justin Martyr, Apol. ii.[d], "If mankind had no power to avoid

[c] [νόσοι δὲ θνητῶν αἱ μέν εἰσ' αὐθαίρετοι,
αἱ δ' ἐκ θεῶν πάρεισιν, ἀλλὰ τῷ νόμῳ
ἰώμεθ' αὐτὰς· ἀλλά σοι λέξαι θέλω,]
εἰ θεοί τι δρῶσιν αἰσχρὸν, οὐκ εἰσὶν θεοί.—Eurip. Bellerophon., fr. 23.
[Hammond perhaps found this passage in his favourite author Stobæus, C, 4. It is also quoted by Plutarch and by Justin Martyr.]

[d] [ἐπεὶ εἰ μὴ τοῦτό ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ καθ' εἱμαρμένην πάντα γίνεται οὔτε τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἐστὶν ὅλως· εἰ γὰρ εἵμαρται τόνδε τινα ἀγαθὸν εἶναι, καὶ τόνδε φαῦλον, οὔθ' οὗτος ἀποδεκτὸς, οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνος μεμπτέος· καὶ αὖ εἰ μὴ προαιρέσει ἐλευθέρᾳ πρὸς τὸ φεύγειν τὰ αἰσχρὰ καὶ αἱρεῖσθαι τὰ καλὰ, δύναμιν ἔχει τὸ ἀνθρώπειον γένος, ἀναίτιόν ἐστι τῶν ὅπως δήποτε πραττομένων, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐλευθέρα προαιρέσει καὶ κατορθοῖ καὶ σφάλλεται οὕτως ἀποδείκνυμεν· τὸν αὐτὸν ἄνθρωπον τῶν ἐναντίων τὴν μετέλευσιν ποιούμενον ὁρῶμεν εἰ δὲ εἵμαρτο τι φαῦλον ἢ σπουδαῖον εἶναι, οὐκ ἄν ποτε τῶν ἐναντίων δεικτικὸς ἦν, καὶ πλειστακὶς μετετίθετο· ἀλλ' οὐδ' οἱ μὲν ἦσαν σπουδαῖοι, οἱ δὲ

ill or choose good by free deliberation, it should never be guilty of any thing that was done." And as Tatianus[e], to the same purpose, "God therefore gave liberty of choice to men, that the wicked might be justly punished, being wicked by his own fault, and the righteous commended, who by the same liberty hath taken care not to transgress the will of God." So certainly this doctrine must take away all guilt of an accusing, and all solace of a quiet conscience, and in like manner supersede and slacken all industry and endeavour, which is the lowest degree of that which hath promise to be accepted by Christ, and by fastening all our actions as well as ends by a fatal decree at the foot of God's chair, leave nothing to us to deliberate or attempt, but only to obey our fate, to follow the duct of the stars, or necessity of those iron chains which we are born under.

12. Secondly, there being little question made by any, but that God both can and doth whatsoever He will both in heaven and earth, when any thing is acknowledged to be willed by God,—as it is certain every thing is which is predetermined and preordained by Him,—it necessarily follows, that whensoever that is done, it is done by God, and consequently if that be a sin, God doth, i. e. committeth the sin, and this without any so much as concurrence of any will of mine, but what is also predetermined by Him; which is evidently the defining God to be both the principal and accessary, in the committing every sin; which when it is once believed, then 1. what possible way is there for any man to be guilty of sin, which we know is no further sin than it was voluntary in him that did it, and he free to have abstained when he did commit it, or at least to have prevented that degree of force or necessity that is fallen upon him? and on the other side what possibility of abstaining from sin, when by

φαῦλοι, ἐπεὶ τὴν εἱμαρμένην αἰτίαν φαύλων, καὶ ἐνάντια ἑαυτῇ πράττουσαν ἀποφαινόμεθα· ἡ ἐκεῖνο τὸ προειρημένον δόξαι ἀληθὲς εἶναι ὅτι οὐδέν ἐστιν ἀρετὴ οὐδὲ κακία, ἀλλὰ δόξῃ μόνον ἡ ἀγαθὰ ἢ κακὰ νομίζεται· ἥπερ ὡς δείκνυσιν ὁ ἀληθὴς λόγος, μεγίστη ἀσέβεια καὶ ἀδικία ἐστιν· ἀλλ' εἱμαρμένην φαμὲν ἀπαράβατον ταύτην εἶναι τοῖς τὰ καλὰ ἐκλεγομένοις, τὰ ἄξια ἐπιτίμια, καὶ τοῖς ὁμοίως τὰ ἐνάντια, τὰ ἄξια ἐπίχειρα.—S. Just. Mart. Apol. ii. p. 80.]

[e] [τὸ δὲ ἑκάτερον τῆς ποιήσεως εἶδος αὐτεξούσιον γέγονε, τἀγαθοῦ φύσιν μὴ ἔχον πλὴν μόνον παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ, τῇ δὲ ἐλευθερίᾳ τῆς προαιρέσεως ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκτελειούμενον, ὅπως ὁ μὲν φαῦλος δικαίως κολάζηται δι' αὐτὸν γεγονὼς μοχθηρὸς, ὁ δὲ δίκαιος χάριν τῶν ἀνδραγαθημάτων ἀξίως ἐπαινῆται, κατὰ τὸ αὐτεξούσιον τοῦ Θεοῦ μὴ παραβὰς τὸ βούλημα.—Tatian., p. 146, C.]

CHAP. XVI.

God's predetermination of it, it is acknowledged inevitable? and when these two are taken away, the possibility of guilt, and the possibility of innocence, what restraint can the belief of all the articles of the Creed lay upon any man to fly from evil, or pursue that which is good?

13. Thirdly, the only way of defining of sin, is by the contrariety to the will of God, as of good by the accordance with that will; and if all things be preordained by God, and so demonstrated to be willed by Him, it remains that there is no such thing as sin, nor any thing to be abstained from or avoided by us, nor difference betwixt good and evil, according to that measure of God's will, which by this doctrine is equally compatible to both of them. And if the distinction of His secret and revealed will be here made use of, and only the latter of these conceived to be it, in contrariety to which sin consists, that so there may be a way of sinning against that whilst the secret will is obeyed and performed; then, besides the great absurdity of affirming any thing of God's secret will, till by some means or other it be revealed, and then it ceaseth to be, what it is pretended to be, secret, for if it be known it is not secret; and secondly, the ridiculousness of making that God's will, which is supposed contrary to His will, for certainly that which is contrary to His will, is not His will, and therefore the secret being supposed contrary to the revealed, if the revealed will be His will, the secret is not His will, and if the secret be His will, then that which is revealed to be His will, is not His will; and thirdly, the impiety of opposing God's words to His thoughts, His revealed commands to His secret decrees, which is as ill as could be said of any man, and will never incline any to obey God, which hath such an unhandsome opinion of Him; besides these inconveniences, I say, it is evident that intrinsic goodness consists in accordance, and sin in contrariety to the secret will of God, as well as to His revealed, or else God could not be defined infinitely good, or so far as His thoughts and secrets, but only superficially good, as far as the outside or appearing part of Him, i. e. as far as He is pleased to reveal Himself, which again is perfect blasphemy to imagine, and that which equals God to the most formal and hypocritical professor.

Revealed and secret will.

14. Fourthly, this doctrine is destructive to all that is established among men, to all that is most precious, first, to human nature, to the two faculties that denominate us men, understanding and will; for what use can we have of our understandings, if we cannot do what we know to be our duty? and if we act not voluntarily, what exercise have we of our wills?

15. Secondly, to the end of our creation, whether subordinate or ultimate; the subordinate end of our creation is, that we should live virtuously and glorify God in a voluntary and generous obedience, either of which other creatures, that act naturally, are not capable of; and God's predetermining all our actions deprives us of this honour and dignity of our nature, leaves no place of virtue, which is founded in voluntary action, and as Origen saith Cont. Cels., lib. iv., [cap. 3.] Ἀρετῆς ἐὰν ἀνέλῃς τὸ ἑκούσιον, ἀνεῖλες αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν, "if you take from virtue the voluntariness, you take away the essence of it." And so this doctrine brings us down to the level of horse and mule, whose mouths are forcibly holden with bit and bridle, when yet it is one of the commands of that God, that we should not be like those creatures. And so for the ultimate end, a reward and crown in another world, which no irrational creature is capable of, this predetermination of all our actions, which renders us necessary not rational agents, renders us utterly incapable of that. [Ps. xxxii. 9.]

16. Thirdly, it is directly contrary to all God's ways or manner of dealing with us, which is all by rational ways of persuasion, by proposition of terrors and promises, the danger that we shall incur by our disobedience, and the infinite advantages that we shall reap by our obedience; and to these is added the authority of the commander, vindicated from our neglect by the interposition of the greatest signs and wonders, in the hands of His prophets and of His Son, such as we cannot but wonder when we read them,—as in the case of the Israelites coming out of Egypt and in the wilderness,—that they should not prevail upon them, when yet they did not prevail. And what can be more contrary to rational motives, than predetermination? for as, if they had not that persuasive efficacy in them as to be able to move a rational man, they could not be denominated rational, so if they

CHAP. XVI.

were backed with a violence, if they were proposed to us in the name and power of an omnipotent immutable decree, they could never be said motives or persuasives; and so still God's gracious dealings with men being the aids and auxiliaries necessary to us in the pursuit of piety, and the one doctrine and persuasion of God's predetermination of all events, having superseded and cassated all those ways, we have no bottom left, on which to found the least beginning or thought of piety as long as we continue possessed with that persuasion.

17. Fourthly, this doctrine, if it were true, must necessarily take away all judgment to come, all reward and punishment, which are certainly apportioned to the voluntary actions and choices of men, and therefore belong not to any but rational creatures, and can no more be awarded to those actions which are predetermined by God, than to the ascending of the flame, or descending of the stone, which by nature and the providence of God are thus predetermined, and act by decree, and not by choice. And when all judgment to come is once vanished, all reward to engage obedience, and all terror to restrain disobedience is once removed, and so in effect the three last articles of the Creed rejected also, what hope is there that the remaining articles should be sufficient to do it?

18. To these Christian and theological considerations it will not be amiss to add what care the writers of politics have had to warn us of the noxiousness of this doctrine to all civil governments, which Christian religion, rightly understood, is so very far from disturbing, that beyond all other aphorisms political, beyond the sagest provisions of the profoundest lawgivers, it is, would men but live according to the rules of it, incomparably qualified to perpetuate public weal and peace.

19. But for the doctrine of those who so mistake Christian religion as to think it is only a chain of fatal decrees, to deny all liberty of man's choice toward good or evil, and to affix all events to God's predetermination, this, say they, is utterly irreconcileable with the nature of civil government, with the foundation thereof laid in laws, or with the punishments and rewards which are thought necessary to the con-

tinuance thereof, and Campanella chooseth to instance *in republica præsertim libera*, "in a republic or free state."

20. For when the people which think their liberty, of which they are very tender and jealous, to be retrenched or impaired by the restraint of laws, can further answer their rulers, though but in the heart, without proceeding to further boldness, that they cannot observe their laws, being led by irresistible decrees to the transgressing of them, the consequence is easy to foresee, the despising and contemning of laws, and hating and detesting of those who are obliged to punish them when they have offended, which two are soon inflamed beyond the rate of popular discontents into actual seditions and tumults, as soon as opportunity shall favour, or opinion of their own strength encourage them to it.

21. That the Turkish empire hath not yet found the noxious effects of this poison, so commonly received among them, will, I suppose, be objected against the truth of this. But it is visible to what antidotes this must be imputed; first, to their ignorance and unimproveableness in matters of knowledge and rational discourse, being generally kept rude, and without all literature, which is the grindstone to sharpen the coulters, to whet their natural faculties, and to enable them to discourse and deduce natural consequences; secondly, to the manner observed in governing them, by force, and not by obligation on conscience, by violence, and not by laws; which way of managery being somewhat proportionable to the opinion of fatal decrees, and agreeing with it in this, that it doth really leave nothing to men's choices, is withal as a contrary poison, a hot thrown after a cold, very proper to abate the energy of it, forcing them as fatally to abstain, as they can deem themselves forced or impelled to commit any such enormity.

22. However, it is manifest that the force they are under is a real force, and that of their fate but an imaginary conceived one, the one but in their brains, the other on their shoulders; and it is not strange if the iron chains are experimented to have more solidity, and so more efficacy in them than the contemplative.

23. *Sed si Italos*, say the politic writers. But if this

CHAP. XVI.

doctrine should ever get among the Italians, whose wits are more acute,—and sure the Italians have not inclosed that excellency from all the rest of Europe,—it would presently put all into confusion, they would soon discern the consequences, and utmost improvements of the opinion, and never stick to cast all on God, as the author of all, and having resolved, with him in Homer[f], of the *ἀλλὰ Ζεὺς καὶ Μοῖρα*, that all is chargeable on the superior cause, Jupiter and Fate, infer regularly with him, *ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ αἴτιός εἰμι*, the blamelessness of the inferior agent, and so there being no place left for sin or law, immediately believe and follow their own wishes, turn libertines, throw off all yoke of men as well as God. In intuition whereof I suppose it was that Plato[g] would not permit in his commonwealth any that should affirm God to be the author of all the evils that were committed. And Proclus[h] upon the Timæus sets them down as a third degree of atheists, who attribute to God the impressing on men's minds a necessity of doing whatsoever they do.

24. It is true where there is any remainder of natural piety, he that believes the doctrine of absolute decrees, may be thereby restrained from actually making the conclusions, inferring such impious horrid consequences,—be they never so obvious and regular,—of making God the author of sin, and the like; but we know those natural dictates are by unnatural sins effaced in many, and when that one restraint is removed, the conclusion will be as easily believed as the premises, and where neither boldness nor skill are wanting to deduce it, that conclusion will again turn principle, and reduce all vicious enormous living, which laws were designed to restrain, but will no longer do it, when themselves are looked on as impertinent invaders of liberty, despised first, and then hated.

25. One further consideration hath been added to this former, that this doctrine being imbibed by governors, is very apt to instil into them principles of tyranny, if it be

[f] [Hom. Il. τ. 86.]

[g] [Vide Plat. de Republ., lib. ii. ad fin.]

[h] [See Proclus' Commentary on the Timæus appended to the edition of Plato published at Basle, fol. 1534; but nearly all these quotations on the subject of fate are taken from Grotius' Philosophorum sententiæ de fato, 4to. Par. 1648.]

but by imitating and transcribing from God the notions which they have received of Him, by doing that themselves which they believe of Him, punishing their subjects by no other rule but of their wills, decreeing their destruction first without intuition of any voluntary crime of theirs, and then counting it a part of their glory to execute such decrees. Thus when Suetonius[1] describes Tiberius as a professed contemner of all religion, and from thence soon improved into the most intolerable tyrant, he renders the original of it, that he believed all things to be wrought by a fatality. But these are popular considerations, yet not unfit also to be taken in as appendant to the former.

Sin is not nothing.

26. Many artifices there are invented by the necessities of those who have embraced this doctrine, to intercept and avoid these consequences of it; the two principal I shall name; first, that sin is a nonentity, a nothing, and so that all things may be predetermined by God and yet not sin; secondly, that though God be author of the act of sin, yet He is not of the obliquity of it, as the rider is cause of the horse's going, but not of his lameness or halting when he goes.

27. For the former of these, which is a perfect fantasy and school notion, these things may be observed of it, that besides that it would be, first, very strange that God should damn a multitude of angels and men for nothing; and secondly, very ridiculous, that my swearing to a truth should be an entity, and my swearing to a falsity, nothing; eating my own bread, enjoying my own wife, an entity, and eating another man's bread, enjoying another man's wife, nothing; and thirdly, that which would soon fall back into the grand inconvenience of obstructing Christian life,—for why should a Christian be such a fool as to be afraid of nothing, to fly and avoid nothing?—besides these, I say, it is apparent that they that thus teach, profess that sins are predetermined, by name, Adam's sin, and Judas' sin, and, if it be driven home, every sin of every other man, as well as any other the most virtuous action. And yet further, unless it could be gained that every virtuous action were nothing also, there

[1] [Circa deos ac religiones negligentior, quippe addictus mathematicæ, persuasionisque plenus cuncta fato agi. —Suet. in vita Tib. cap. 69.]

CHAP. XVI.

would be little advantage in this matter, it being as contrary to judgment to come, to rewarding according to works, that one predetermined necessary action, which I could not but do, should be rewarded, as that another should be punished, and as certain a prejudice to all diligence, or pursuit of Christian life, that I cannot choose but do the good which I do, as that I cannot but commit the ill that I commit. For although it be very agreeable to the goodness of God to abound in giving grace and enabling to do good, to prepare, prevent, and assist, and contribute all that can be wanting to us, either to will or do,—as it is not compatible with it so much as to incline any man to do evil,—and so there is a difference in that respect betwixt the good and the evil, yet to do all this irresistibly, for a fatal decree of heaven to contrive every good action of my life, so as it is impossible for me not to will and act as God would have me, this is quite contrary to the nature of a voluntary agent, a rational creature, and consequently to that will and decree of God, whereby He predetermined man to be such, and as irreconcileable with reward or crown, as punishment is with that which is as much, but no more necessary.

The distinction between the act and the obliquity.

28. As for the distinction between the act and the obliquity, there is some truth in it, and use to be made of it, so far as to free God, who is author of all man's power to act, from being in any degree the author of his acting obliquely or crookedly, i. e. sinfully.

29. For as it is impossible for us to move either to good or evil, except He that gave us our first being and powers continue them minutely unto us, so He having used all wise and efficacious methods to incline and engage us to make use of His gifts unto His service, and having contributed nothing to our evil choices, but His decree of permitting or not hindering them,—and if He should violently hinder, that would make us no whit less guilty, he that would sin if he could, is as guilty as if he did; and without that permission of evil, our good choices would neither be good, nor choices, and consequently never be rewarded by Him,—it is most apparent that He is no author of the obliquities of our wills, but on the contrary that He doth as much to the straightening of them, as without changing our natures,—

offering violence to our wills, which He hath decreed to remain free,—He could prudently be imagined to do.

30. But this is no way applicable to this matter of freeing God from being the author of that sin of which He is acknowledged to predetermine the act; for first, though a free power of acting good or evil be perfectly distinct and separable from doing evil, and therefore God, that is the author of one, cannot thence be inferred to be the author of the other, yet the act of sin is not separable from the obliquity of that act, the act of blasphemy from the obliquity or irregularity of blasphemy, the least evil thought or word against an infinite good God being as crooked as the rule is straight, and consequently he that predetermines the act must needs predetermine the obliquity.

31. Nay secondly, if there were any advantage to be made of this distinction in this matter, it would more truly be affirmed on the contrary side, that God is the author of the obliquity, and man of the act; for God that gives the rule, in transgressing of which all obliquity consists, doth contribute a great deal though not to the production of that act, which is freely committed against that rule, yet to the denominating it oblique, for if there were no law there would be no obliquity; God that gives the law that a Jew shall be circumcised, thereby constitutes uncircumcision an obliquity which, had He not given that law, had never been such; but for the act, as that differs from the powers on one side, and the obliquity on the other, it is evident that the man is the cause of that, it is man that circumciseth, or chooseth to be circumcised, and so, that refuseth to receive that sign in the flesh; and the act of killing Abel was as perfectly Cain's act as the offering of his sacrifice was, and so in all other acts, especially of sin, to which God doth not so much as incline, and the devil can do no more than persuade any man.

32. To conclude, the obliquity of any act, arising, by way of resultance, from the transgressing of the rule, i. e. doing contrary to God's command, as inequality ariseth from the adding or subtracting an unity from an even number, it necessarily follows, that He that first gives the law, and then predetermines the act of transgressing, the disobedience, the doing contrary to that law, that first forbids

CHAP. XVI.

eating of the tree of knowledge, and then predetermines Adam's will to choose, and eat what was forbidden, is by His decree guilty of the commission of the act, and by His law the cause of its being an obliquity; and indeed, if the obliquity, which renders the act a sinful act, be itself anything, it must necessarily follow, that either God doth not predetermine all things, or that He predetermines the obliquity; and regularity bearing the same proportion of relation to any act of duty, as obliquity doth to sin, it cannot be imagined that the author of the sinful act should not be the author of the obliquity, as well as the author of the pious act is by the disputers acknowledged to be the author of the regularity of it.

33. The complaint of the gods in Homer will best shut up this [k]:

> Ὦ πόποι, οἷον δή νυ θεοὺς βροτοὶ αἰτιόωνται,
> Ἐξ ἡμέων γὰρ φασὶ κάκ' ἔμμεναι, οἳ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ
> Σφῇσιν ἀτασθαλίῃσιν ὑπὲρ μόρον ἄλγε' ἔχουσιν.

"O, how unjustly mortal men accuse and charge the gods, saying that their evils are from them, when the truth is, that they by their own wretchless courses bring mischiefs upon themselves, above which their fate, or decree of the gods can be deemed to have brought upon them." And accordingly it is one of the excellent lessons of the Pythagoreans[l] in their golden verses,

> Γνώσῃ δ' ἀνθρώπους αὐθαίρετα πήματ' ἔχοντας,

[k] Odys. α. [32.] Vid. Eustath. in loc., p. 15. [ed. Basil. fol. 1559-60.]

[l] [Fatum, quod Græci *πεπρωμένην*, vel *εἱμαρμένην* vocant, ad hanc ferme sententiam Chrysippus, Stoicæ princeps philosophiæ definit: "Fatum est," inquit, "sempiterna quædam et indeclinabilis series rerum et catena, volvens semetipsa sese et implicans per æternos consequentiæ ordines, ex quibus apta connexaque est." Ipsa autem verba Chrysippi, quantum valui memoria, adscripsi; ut, si cui meum istud interpretamentum videbitur esse obscurius, ad ipsius verba animadvertat. In libro enim *περὶ προνοίας* quarto: *εἱμαρμένην* esse dicit *φυσικήν τινα σύνταξιν τῶν ὅλων, ἓξ ἀϊδίου τῶν ἑτέρων τοῖς ἑτέροις ἑπακολουθούντων, καὶ μετὰ πολὺ μὲν οὖν ἀπαραβάτου οὔσης τῆς τοιαύτης συμπλοκῆς.* Aliarum autem opinionum disciplinarumque auctores huic definitioni ita obstrepunt: Si Chrysippus, inquiunt, fato putat omnia moveri et regi, nec declinari transcendique posse agmina fati et volumina: peccata quoque hominum et delicta non succensenda neque inducenda sunt ipsis voluntatibusque eorum; sed necessitati cuidam et instantiæ, quæ oritur ex fato; omnium quæ sit rerum domina et arbitra, per quam necesse sit fieri, quidquid futurum est: et propterea nocentium pœnas legibus inique constitutas, si homines ad maleficia non sponte veniunt, sed fato trahuntur. Contra ea Chrysippus tenuiter multa et argute disserit; sed

"This thou must know, that the evils that men fall under, are brought upon them by their own choices." On which even Chrysippus the Stoic, and great asserter of fate, hath thus commented: *ὡς τῶν βλαβῶν ἑκάστοις παρ' αὐτοῖς γινομένων, καὶ καθ' ὁρμὴν αὐτῶν, ἁμαρτανόντων τε καὶ βλαπτομένων, καὶ κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν διάνοιαν καὶ πρόθεσιν,* "Evils or mischiefs come to every man from himself, it being certain that by their own incitation they both sin, and suffer, and that according to their own mind and purpose." This being so far distant from the doctrine of fatality, it may well be wondered how Chrysippus that asserted that, under the name of *εἱμαρμένη* and *πεπρωμένη*, 'the chain,' and 'the decree,'—and defined it, saith Gellius, *sempiterna quædam, et indeclinabilis series rerum et catena, volvens semetipsa sese, et implicans per æternos consequentiæ ordines, ex quibus apta connexaque est;* "an eternal and unavoidable series and

omnium fere, quæ super ea re scripsit, sententia hujuscemodi est: "Quanquam ita sit," inquit, "ut ratione quadam necessario principali coacta atque connexa sint fato omnia: ingenia tamen ipsa mentium nostrarum perinde sunt fato obnoxia, ut proprietas eorum est ipsa et qualitas. Nam si sunt per naturam primitus salubriter utiliterque ficta, omnem illam vim, quæ de fato extrinsecus ingruit, inoffensius tractabiliusque transmittunt. Sin vero sunt aspera et inscita et rudia, nullisque artium bonarum adminiculis fulta: etiamsi parvo sive nullo fatalis incommodi conflictu urgeantur; sua tamen scævitate et voluntario impetu in assidua delicta et in errores ruunt. Idque ipsum ut ea ratione fiat, naturalis illa et necessaria rerum consequentia efficit, quæ fatum vocatur. Est enim genere ipso quasi fatale et consequens, ut mala ingenia peccatis et erroribus non vacent." Hujus deinde rei exemplo non hercle nimis aliene neque illepide utitur. "Sicut," inquit, "lapidem cylindrum si per spatia terræ prona atque derupta jacias, causam quidem ei et initium præcipitantiæ feceris; mox tamen ille præceps volvitur, non quia tu id jam facis, sed quoniam ita sese modus ejus et formæ volubilitas habet: sic ordo et ratio et necessitas fati genera ipsa et principia causarum movet; impetus vero consiliorum mentiumque nostrarum actionesque ipsas voluntas cujusque propria et animorum ingenia moderantur." Infert deinde verba hæc, iis, quæ dixi, congruentia: *διὸ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Πυθαγορείων οὕτως εἴρηται·*

Γνώσῃ δ' ἀνθρώπους αὐθαίρετα πήματ' ἔχοντας·

ὡς τῶν βλαβῶν ἑκάστοις παρ' αὐτοῖς γινομένων, καὶ καθ' ὁρμὴν αὐτῶν ἁμαρτανόντων τε καὶ βλαπτομένων, καὶ κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν διάνοιαν καὶ πρόθεσιν. Propterea negat oportere ferri audirique homines aut nequam aut ignavos et nocentes et audaces: qui, cum in culpa et in maleficio revicti sunt, perfugiunt ad fati necessitatem, tanquam in aliquod fani asylum, et, quæ pessime fecerunt, ea non suæ temeritati, sed fato esse attribuenda dicunt. Primus hoc sapientissimus ille et antiquissimus poetarum dixit in hisce versibus:

Ὦ πόποι, οἷον δή νυ θεοὺς βροτοὶ αἰτιόωνται.
Ἐξ ἡμέων γὰρ φασὶ κακ' ἔμμεναι· οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ
Σφῇσιν ἀτασθαλίῃσιν ὑπὲρ μόρον ἄλγε' ἔχουσιν.

Itaque M. Cicero in libro, quem De Fato conscripsit, cum quæstionem istam diceret obscurissimam esse et implicatissimam, Chrysippum quoque philosophum non expedisse se in ea refert, his verbis: "Chrysippus æstuans laboransque, quonam pacto explicet, et fato omnia fieri, et esse aliquid in nobis, intricatur hoc modo." —Aul. Gell. vi. 2.]

CHAP. XVI.

chain of things folding and involving itself within itself by eternal courses of consequence, by which it is framed and connected;" or in his own dialect, that it is φυσικὴ σύνταξις τῶν ὅλων ἐξ ἀϊδίου τῶν ἑτέρων τοῖς ἑτέροις ἐπακολουθούντων, "a natural complication of all things from all eternal, one thing following another," καὶ ἀπαραβάτου οὔσης τοιαύτης συμπλοκῆς, "that complication being such as cannot be changed,"—could believe himself, or reconcile this comment, or that verse, with his great principles; and indeed Cicero hath passed a right sentence of it, *Chrysippus æstuans laboransque quonam pacto explicet et fato fieri omnia, et esse aliquid in nobis, intricatur;* "Chrysippus contending and labouring how to reconcile these two propositions, that all things are done by fate, and yet that something is in our own power, is entangled, and cannot extricate himself." This master of the Stoics was pressed, saith Gellius, with these inconvenient consequences of his doctrine of decrees, that then the "sins of men were not to be charged on their wills, but to be imputed to a necessity and pressing, which arose from fate, that it must be unjust to make laws for the punishing of offenders;" to which he had nothing to say but this, that though, if you look upon the first cause, all is thus fatally decreed and chained, yet the dispositions of each man's mind are only so far subject to fate, as is agreeable to their own properties and qualities, as, saith he, when a man tumbles a cylinder or roller down a hill, it is certain that the man is the violent enforcer of the first motion of it, but when it is once a tumbling, the quality and propriety of the thing itself continues and consummates it. In this witty resemblance of that Stoic these three things must be considered; first, that the cylinder, the instance that he thought fit to pitch on, is an inanimate lifeless trunk, which hath nothing of choice or will in it; secondly, that neither the weight of the matter, of which it is made, nor the round, voluble form of it,—which two meeting with a precipice or steep declivity do necessarily continue the motion of it,—are any more imputable to that dead, choiceless creature, than the first motion of it was supposed to be; and therefore, thirdly, that this cannot be a fit resemblance to shew the reconcileableness of fate with choice, or the reasonableness

CHAP. XVI.

of charging on men's wills what was inevitably produced by their fate, or of punishing them for those acts which they are necessarily driven to commit. To which purpose it may be remembered that neither is the cylinder charged with sin, whether by God or men, nor any punitive law enacted by either against its rolling down the hill, nor indeed are such charges or such laws ever brought in or enacted against any actions of any other creature, plant, or beast, till you ascend to man, who is supposed to have a will, and not to be under such inevitable, fatal laws, but to be, as that excellent man Pomponius Atticus[p] was wont to say, the forger of his own fate, the framer of his fortune, which yet should be as improper to be applied to or affirmed of a man, as of any other creature, if all his actions were as irreversibly predetermined as the descent of heavy bodies, or the ascending of light, i. e. if Chrysippus' cylinder and the motion thereof were a commodious instance or resemblance of this matter. But the truth is, the man was acute and dextrous, could say as much for the reconciling of contradictions as another, and though this last age hath considered this question very diligently, and had the advantages of the writings of the former ages to assist them, yet he that shall impartially make the comparison, will find that the ancient philosophers have written more subtilely in this matter, and are more worth our reading, than any of our modern schools,—he that shall survey Hierocles on the *χρυσᾶ ἔπη*, Ammonius on Aristotle's *περὶ ἑρμηνείας*, in shewing the nature of contingent and necessary propositions, and the Christian philosopher Boethius, lib. ii., *de consolatione philosophiæ*, and Aphrodisæus *περὶ εἱμαρμένης*, where he confutes, as absurd, this comparison of the cylinder, will, I believe, be convinced of the truth of what I say,—and when the master of them, Chrysippus, was so unable to speak intelligible sense, or extricate himself in this business, it will be less matter of wonder to us, that they which have espoused this *πρόληψις*, should endeavour as improsperously to reconcile this with other notions of piety, and to extricate themselves out of a labyrinth not of fewer, but more difficulties, (God having most clearly re-

[p] [Itaque hic fecit ut vere dictum videatur, sui cuique mores fingunt fortunam. Corn. Nepos in vita Attici, cap. 11.]

CHAP. XVI.

vealed to Christians, that as He rewardeth every man according to his works, so He requireth of him "according to what he hath" in his power to do, "and not according to what he hath not,") as Chrysippus is by Cicero judged to have done.

[2 Cor. viii. 12.]

34. All which being duly considered, and the absurdities of that distinction (thus applied) betwixt the act and the obliquity, as manifest as those of Chrysippus' expedient, in those so many fore-mentioned respects, and the contrary so wide from the truth of Scripture, the attributes of God, and common notions of piety written in men's hearts, and experimented in the government of the world, and lastly so noxious and poisonous to good life, we may certainly conclude with Prosper, that great assertor of God's grace, Resp. ad xiv. Object., Vincent., *Ad prævaricationem legis, ad neglectum religionis, ad corruptelam disciplinæ, ad desertionem fidei, ad perpetrationem qualiscunque peccati, nulla omnino est prædestinatio Dei:* "To the forsaking the law, to the neglecting religion, to the corrupting discipline, to deserting the faith, to the perpetration of whatsoever sin, there is not at all any predestination of God." *Si ergo in sanctitate vivitur* [*si in virtute proficitur, si in bonis studiis permanetur manifestum munus est Dei:*] "If we live in sanctity, grow in virtue and persevere in good purposes, the gift of God is manifest in all this." *Si autem ab his receditur* [*et ad vitia atque peccata transitur, nihil ibi Deus malæ tentationis immittit, et recessurum non deserit antequam deserat, et ne deserat facit plerumque aut etiam si discessit ut redeat:*] "But if we go back from these, if we pass over to vices and sins, here God sends no evil temptation, forsakes not the deserter, before he be forsaken, and very frequently keeps him that would depart from departing, and causeth him to return, though he be departed." To which may be added that of the Arausican council, which was very careful to assert the necessity of grace, and yet pronounces an anathema against those who affirm any to be by God predetermined to sin[q].

[q] Aliquos [vero] ad malum divina potestate prædestinatos esse non solum non credimus, sed etiam si sunt qui tantum malum credere velint, cum omni detestatione in illis anathema dicimus.—Syn. Araus. [(A.D. 529,)] Can. 25.

CHAP. XVII.

OF THE SPIRIT'S ACTING ALL THINGS WITHIN THE MAN.

1. WHAT hath been said of the doctrine of God's decrees, fatally passed upon our persons or our actions, will be further extended to the pretensions of the Spirit, and the opinion that of late begins to diffuse itself among some, that all that is designed or done by them is the dictate and motion of the Spirit in them.

2. Of this it is evident, that either that man, which thus pretends, never commits any act prohibited by the word of God, and vulgarly called sin, after the minute of such pretension,—and then that were a rare charm indeed to render him impeccable,—or that this is the means of consecrating every sin of his, and so the opinion being imbibed by one that lives in rebellion, murder, adultery, pride, or schism, or any other, one or more, grossest sins, the effect must be that he believe every one of these to be infusions of the Spirit of God, and so no more fit to be resisted before, nor repented for after the commission of them, than the most eminent acts of piety should be. And when it is thus become impious to resist any temptation of our own flesh, which solicits within us, or of Satan that suggests and whispers within us too, i. e. to omit the acting of any sin that we are any way inclined to, what place can be left for exhortation to Christian life, as long as I have any temptation against it?

3. This is a doctrine which a man would think should not find admission with any considerable sort of men, and therefore it will be less pertinent for this discourse to take any larger notice of it; yet for the preventing and intercepting any further growth of it, where it may unhappily have found any reception, it will not be amiss to add, and evidence these few things:

4. First concerning the Spirit, which is thus pretended to; that the descent of the Spirit of God was principally for three ends; 1. to give testimony that Christ was the Son of

Concerning the descent of the Spirit.

CHAP. XVII.

God, sent with authority to reveal His will, and to command our faith and obedience, and, consequently to this, to give the world assurance that the Apostles were sent by Him, and to sign the commission of preaching to all nations, to propagate what He had taught. Secondly, to assure all men that the rules which Christ gave us are absolutely necessary to be observed, to render us capable of those promises made, those benefits purchased by Him. And thirdly, that we, being so corrupt by nature, so far from prone, or inclinable in our flesh, to obey those rules; the graces of His Holy Spirit, accompanying the revelation or preaching of His will and word, should incline our corrupt hearts to keep His laws.

God's method in His Church.

5. Secondly, that after the mission of the Spirit, God was pleased, for posterity, otherwise to express His care and love to mankind, viz., in giving and consigning to them His written word for a rule and constant director of life, not leaving them to the duct of their own inclinations.

Teachers and learners.

6. Thirdly, that God hath made, and continued through all ages, both of Jews and Christians, one sort of men to teach, another to learn; among the Jews one to preserve knowledge in his lips, and with the same to dispense it, the other to enquire and seek the law at His mouth; and under the gospel, pastors and teachers, and ἡγούμενοι, 'rulers' set over men for their good; which is a visible prejudice to the pretended guidance of the Spirit. For if that, by the voice within me, be the standing guide of all my actions, what use of foreign teachers, or guides, or necessity of obeying the Apostle when he commands me to obey those that are set over me? [Heb. xiii. 17.]

All that comes out of the heart is not from God.

7. Fourthly, that every thing that comes out of the heart of man, is not infused into it or placed there by God. For besides that from thence proceed many aerial fictions, and phasms, and chimeras, created by the vanity of our own hearts, or seduction of evil spirits, and not planted in them by God or nature or the duct of God's Spirit, motions and emissions of our fancy, and not of our reason, of our sensitive not human nature,—and to this all the idolatry of the ancient heathens, and the new fanciful divinity of some present Christians, and the whole religion of the Mahomedans is

visibly imputable,—besides this, I say, it is affirmed by the Apostle, that there is a "wisdom,"—and that must signify some codex of directions for practice, some law in the members, opposite to that in the mind,—"that cometh not from above," as well as a wisdom that "cometh from above," and in plain terms, that it is "earthly, sensual, and devilish," as that law in the members is said to "lead the man into captivity to the law of sin which is in the members." Jam. iii. 15, 17. [Rom. vii. 23.]

8. So again, saith Christ, "out of the heart proceed all the things that defile a man, evil machinations," *διαλογισμοὶ πονηροὶ*, all the most mischievous designments, by name, "murders, adulteries, fornications," incestuous and unnatural commissions contained under the word *πορνεία*, 'fornication,' "thefts, false witnesses, evil speaking," i. e.,—as by those few instances is intimated and must be supplied by parity of reason,—all the contradictions to the several branches, and degrees of those branches, of the divine or moral law. Matt. xv. 18, 19. 1 Cor. v. 1.

9. Fifthly, that to impose on ourselves or others by this fallacy, to believe or pretend that whatever our own hearts incite us to do, what they suggest or dictate, is the Spirit, or word, or revelation of the will of God within us, is the principle of all villany, the same that hath always acted in the children of disobedience, enhanced and improved with circumstances of greater boldness and impudence, than ever the most abominable heathens were guilty of, either in their oracles or in their mysteries. The belief of it a very noxious error.

10. In their oracles, though their idol priests, who had the inclosure of this cheat, gave responses out of the caverns of the earth, and set up the devil,—by the advantage of his foreseeing some things in their causes, and conjecturing at others,—above the omniscient God of heaven, yet they affixed not the answers of their devils to the true God. They worshipped idols, and disclaimed any portion in the true God, turned all knowledge or profession of Him out of their hearts, according to that reasonable proposition of St. Paul, that there is no possible agreement to be had betwixt light and darkness. But these by their refined pretension, do, in effect, and by way of necessary consequence and direct interpretation, turn the God of heaven into that accursed Worse than the fallacy of the heathen oracles. 2 Cor. vi. 14, 15.

CHAP. XVII.

spirit, affix on him, receive and deliver as the effata and oracles of God, whatsoever the devil, or their own lust, or revenge, or pride, or ambition, or covetousness (so many *αὐθαίρετοι δαίμονες*, 'spontaneous devils') can infuse into them, and out of their black hearts, as out of the most noisome caverns and dens of the earth, holding intercourse with hell, breathe out, and deliver to the world.

Of idolatrous mysteries.

11. So again in their mysteries, and most secret recesses and adyta of their religion, their heathen priests were wont to betray and lead their silly votaries into all the most horrid unnatural sins, as into a special part of the devotions and worships required of them by the gods, whom they had undertaken to serve: but yet never thought fit to let them out of the dark, out of the retirement, but by banishing the eyes of men gave witness against themselves, accused those facts which were not able to bear the light,—to which the Apostle seems to refer, Ephes. v. 13,—and so had the excuse of some bashfulness and self-accusation, and care not to scandalize other men; whilst these that make their own lust, their own malice and revenge the voice of the true God, the Spirit within them, are thereby qualified to act the horridest sins avowedly and shamelessly, and have no checks left, no coldness, but where they have no temptations, no dislikes, no shame, no objections to any thing, but to tenderness, to scrupulosity, to fear of offending, to the doing what they do in bondage, as they call it, i. e. to all the relics or embers of conscience remaining in them; and if they can but utterly and finally cast out this fear, they are hereby delivered up really to the evil spirit, while they most pretend to the guidance of the good. The pretended Spirit of God within them, by suggesting sins, gives a full confidence and security to commit them, and then Scripture and conscience and temper, and a tolerable degree of good nature, any thing lower than the utmost evil, is the thing only to be mortified, the one piece of criminous carnality to be burnt up.

12. Thus by turning one pin in the machine, the whole scene is shifted, and this voice, as of an *ἐγγαστρίμυθος*, that comes out of our own bellies, being mistaken for the still language in which God was once heard, a congregation of

Christians may be soon inspired into a legion of demoniacs, and only one,—but that a teeming fruitful,—error be committed all this while, the mistaking our own motions for the incitation of the Spirit of God, which till it be reformed or retracted, it must be a shortness of discourse to think strange, and an injustice to charge of any new crime, the infallible consequences of it, and such are all the barefaced villanies in the world. CHAP. XVII.

13. For as he that is so sure and confident of his particular election as to resolve he can never fall, if he commit those acts or live in those habits against which the words of Scripture are plain, that "they that do them shall not inherit eternal life," must necessarily resolve, that what were drunkenness or adultery in another, is not so in him, and nothing but the removing his fundamental error can rescue him from the superstructive, be it never so gross; so to this one grand mistake, the judging of God's will by the bent of our own spirits, all vicious enormous practices, even to the taking away of all differences between good and evil, are regularly consequent, and cannot seem strange to attend daily, where the other hath taken up the lodging. [1 Cor. vi. 10; Gal. v. 21; Eph. v. 5.]

CHAP. XVIII.

OF THE MISTAKES CONCERNING REPENTANCE.

1. One sort of doctrines more I cannot but annex here, though I have elsewhere[r] already insisted on them, and those are the mistakes in the doctrine of repentance.

2. Repentance, whatever that word signifies,—and that is certainly a sincere change and renovation of mind, a conversion of the sinner to God in a new life, "repentance from dead works,"—is questionless it to which, on purpose, Christ came to call sinners. His whole embassy from His Father's bosom was projected and designed for this grand work, and so certainly all the preachings of all the Apostles were of the same making that the gospel tells us the first-fruits were, Of repentance. Heb. vi. 1.

[r] [See the Practical Catechism, lib. i. sect. 3. pp. 56 sqq.]

CHAP. XVIII.

"Repent," &c. And therefore it will concern us nearly, not to be misled in this matter; for should we content ourselves with somewhat else under the title or disguise of repentance, which is either not repentance at all, or but an imperfect, insufficient part of repentance, and by consequence persuade ourselves, that by performing of this we shall have fully answered Christ's call, done all that He came from heaven to require of us, it is visible what an obstacle this is to the rearing that superstructure which was designed to be erected on this foundation.

[Mark i. 15; vi. 12.]

Dangerousness of mistakes in it.

Misunderstanding Rom. vii.

3. Now to this head will be referred those that from the misunderstanding of Rom. vii.,—not observing the custom of that Apostle, μετασχηματίζειν εἰς ἑαυτὸν, 'figuratively to transfer to himself, in the first person,' what belongs to others,—have made it reconcileable with regeneration or repentance, (for those two words certainly signify one and the same thing in Scripture,) to be in that state which is there described, i. e. to "do what a man allows not, but hates," "the evil which he would not," "to be brought into captivity to the law of sin, the law in the members warring against the law of the mind," and, upon the same account, even "to be carnal, and sold under sin," all which must equally belong to the person which is there represented, of whom equally in the first person they are all affirmed.

[1 Cor. iv. 6.]

ver. 15.

ver. 19.

ver. 23.

ver. 14.

4. That that chapter is really a representation of one which hath only the knowledge, not practice of his duty, and consequently to the sins which he commits, hath the aggravation superadded of committing them against knowledge, against conscience, against sight of the contrary law, is manifest from the context, and hath elsewhere[s] more seasonably been evidenced. And of this I need not many words to declare how far it is from being so much as any part of repentance, any one of the ingredients in it,—being indeed no more than either the work of natural conscience, or, further, of the mind instructed by the law of Moses, but that not of force to work the least obedience in the man, but supposed in that text to be joined with all customary disobedience and captivity to sin,—and consequently if this be mistaken for that which it is so far removed from being,—

[s] Annot. in Rom. vii. [23.]

natural or legal knowledge of duty, despised and transgressed, for sincere obedience to all the commandments of God,—and the former of these, by so absurd, irrational a concession, be deemed sufficient to render his estate safe, whosoever hath arrived to this, this must needs annul and cassate all the force of all the articles of the Creed, although never so firmly and explicitly believed, toward bringing forth good life, i. e. repentance, truly understood, this supposititious no-repentance being once contentedly received and espoused in exchange for it.

Dangers of it.

5. For who will ever take the pains to maintain a painful, ungrateful, perhaps bloody fight against the "law of sin that is in his members,"—*ὑπωπιάζειν* and *δουλαγωγεῖν*, which are the works of the penitent, on neglect of which the valiantest combatant may prove a reprobate,—if so much less than a *σκιαμαχία*, or "beating the air," a bare dislike or displeasure of the law of the mind, without ever coming into the field, will serve the turn to secure him of the crown.

1 Cor. ix. 27. ver. 26.

Wishes of repentance.

6. So again, they that, like the popular prince, are unwilling to dismiss any man without his request, and therefore, when they find not a man penitent, if they can but obtain of him to wish that he were penitent, or to grieve that he cannot ascend so high as that wish, are content to accept that wish or that grief for that repentance, which alone is the condition required by Christ to rescue from perishing, what do these again but wilfully mistake that for repentance which is not repentance, nay, is by them that affirm it is, presumed and supposed not to be; for if there had been any thing that could have approved itself to be repentance, they had never descended to those low enquiries, after the wish and the grief; nay, the wish they had repentance is founded in the presumption they have it not, and the grief that they have not the wish is again a concession that they have not so much as that; and if they may be capable of comfort,—I mean true substantial comfort, assurance of God's pardon and acceptance, in their present estate,—who are yet so far from being true penitents, reformed, new livers, that the utmost they are arrived to toward it, is but an empty, ineffectual wish that they were such, without considering the price that must be paid, the pleasant espoused

Sorrow that they do not wish.

CHAP. XVIII.

sins that must be parted with if their wish were granted, —and so without any sincere resolution of any real change, —then what need all that Christian life, those many years of severe devotion and profitable service that the Apostles meant, and all ministers endeavour to superstruct on this foundation?

Deferring repentance to death-bed.

7. So that frequent practice though not doctrine of the many, of secure spending in sin the youth, and riper age, and even all the remainder, till the forerunners of death and hell make their close approaches to them, and never doubting but the whole condition required by Christ, the repentance He came to preach, will in that last scene of their last act, immediately before the exit, be as opportunely and acceptably performed as at any other point of their lives; what do these but evacuate the whole force of the Christian faith, and absolutely resolve against building of Christian life upon it?

8. The unreasonableness and presumption, the danger and desperate insecurity of those that thus project, and instead of that whole age of vital actions, which are all little enough be they never so liberally dispensed, and never so duly performed,—vastly disproportionable to that eternal crown, which we know is adjudged, a reward to "every man according to his works,"—have not so much as a thought or design all their lives long, nor till those last fearful summons extort it from them, to advance so far as attrition and contrition, sorrow, and resolution of amendment, and then have no means to secure them of the truth and sincerity of these; the unreasonableness, I say, and danger of these is elsewhere largely insisted on[t], but never sufficiently lamented, being that which is the debauching all parts of the world, a presumption that engages in all sin and ruin, ascertains the life to be wholly unprofitable, and hath the luck among all professions of Christians to have aids and offices diligent to offer it some encouragements; the Romanists have many, formerly named, and their extreme unction, administered as the dying man's viaticum, which St. James mentioned as the ceremony of his recovery, may be added to the catalogue; and others of several persuasions have made them other

[Matt. xvi. 27.]

[Jam. v. 14, 15.]

[t] Of Death-bed Repentance. [Works, vol. i. p. 277 sqq.]

tenders of kindness, and being unwilling to discourage such cunctators, always keep them up in good hope, that if they are not yet called,—for that is the style to express any impenitent, obdurate sinner,—they may yet with the thief be brought in at the last hour, and so,—to omit the desperate gulf they are by these vain hopes most sadly plunged in, if God shew not either the like miracle, as the thief met with a Saviour upon the cross, which is not to be hoped a second time, or some other mercy proportionable to, and as little to be depended on as that,—are ascertained never to superstruct any vital action on that divine foundation, so fitly prepared for it.

Mistake of sorrow for repentance.

9. If there be any that mistake sorrow for sin, *μεταμέλεια*,—which it is very ordinary to find in those who carry it to hell with them, and which continues in that state of woe, as charity doth in heaven,—and confound it with repentance, *μετάνοια*, which is never less than a conversion and change of mind, these by obtruding an insufficient part for the whole, the beginning of a change for the entire work of new life, will fall under the former guilt of obstructing this superstructure; and so, in a word, will all they that either through indulgence to others or fondness to any sin in themselves, substitute for repentance any thing that is less than a sincere, uniform resolution of new obedience, attended with faithful endeavour, and *καρποὶ ἄξιοι*, 'meet, proportionable, worthy fruits' of this change for ever after. [Matt. iii. 8.] The severals of such possible or real mistakes in the retail are not here proper to be insisted on.

CHAP. XIX.

OF THE NECESSARIES TO THE SUPERSTRUCTING OF GOOD LIFE ON THIS FOUNDATION.

1. THERE is still a fourth branch of discourse behind, which by the laws of the designed method must now briefly be considered; what things are necessary to the erecting of this superstructure on this foundation, whether in a particular Christian, or especially in a Church, or society of such.

CHAP. XIX.

Three kinds of necessaries.

2. Where by 'necessary' I mean not the supernatural necessaries, the preventing, and assisting, and renewing grace of God, which we suppose God ready to annex to the revelation of His will in the hearts of all that with obedient humble spirits receive and sincerely embrace it; nor, secondly, in the physical notion of necessity, that without which the work cannot possibly be done, the building be erected; for in this sense, as was said, it cannot be affirmed of all the articles of the Creed that they are thus absolutely necessary, i. e. that no man can be imagined to reform his life, so as to be acceptable to God, but he to whom every of those articles hath been intelligibly revealed; for of many plain, yet pious Christians, it is not certain that that can truly be now affirmed, and of the pious Jews before Christ's time it is not so much as pretended.

Morally necessary to this end.

3. But by 'necessary' I mean that which is morally necessary to this end, i. e. very useful and helpful to advance it, and make it most probable to be attained among men of those tempers which we are commonly to look for in the world; meaning also by the end to which these means are ordinable, not only the first act of change, resolution of reforming, but withal the continuance and perseverance in such resolutions, and the "bringing forth meet fruits for repentance," and that again not in a single person only, but in a community or multitude of men.

What the universal Church of Christ hath thought thus necessary.

4. And in passing our judgment on this kind of necessaries, it will not be modestly nor soberly done, if any of our own wisdom intrude or interpose, or be willing to make additions to what Christ and His Apostles have designed, and the universal practice of the Church hath successfully used, and recommended to us in this kind; and therefore all that we have to do is to recollect what things there are which are thus brought down unto us.

5. And that will appear to be a methodical successive observation of these severals, as degrees and steps preparative the one to the other, and all together, thus orderly used, sufficient through the blessing of God, and more probable than any course we could likely have pitched on, to attain the designed end successfully.

1. Baptism.

6. First, a solemn admission of proselytes, all that either,

being of age, desire that admission for themselves, or that, in infancy, are by others presented to that charity of the Church, with the desires of the parents and intercession of sureties, that they may be thus early admitted by baptism, the ceremony of initiating proselytes, of entering disciples into the school of Christ.

Of infants.

7. If the persons thus admitted be of years of understanding, then some competent degree of instruction is reasonably to prepare for it, which if they be baptized in infancy, is timely to attend it, and security to be taken for the present, that they shall be brought to the Church in due time, where that is presumed to be ready for them; and because in an established Church, where that instruction is secured on all hands, and so is reasonably presumed to attend baptism, the practice of the Church hath always been,—transcribed from the Apostles,—to bring infant children to baptism, we have all reason to adhere to that practice, and to acknowledge with thankfulness the several advantages which it contributes toward the end of "redeeming us from all iniquity, and purifying a peculiar people" unto Christ.

Benefits of that; [Tit. ii. 14.]

The first.

8. First, on God's part, it secures to the infant a non-imputation of Adam's transgression, seals unto him an assurance of God's not proceeding with him according to the strict covenant first made with man, of a perfect unsinning obedience, by which we could have no hope to be justified, and on the contrary receives him into a covenant of grace, where there is pardon reached out to all truly penitent sinners, and assistance promised and engaged, and bestowed upon very easy conditions, humility and prayer and affiance in Him; and this in a degree proportionable to what now is required of us, as far as is truly sufficient, and can reasonably be desired by a rational agent, and as is reconcileable with that liberty which is necessary to be reserved to the will of man, to make him capable of virtue and vice, and consequently of reward and punishment. And this is a necessary expedient to deliver from the encumbrance and weight of fears, and to beget a lively and a quickening hope, and so it is in itself one excellent principle of action,—which slackeneth for want of encouragement, and cannot choose but be enlivened by such pregnant grounds of it,—and thus

CHAP. XIX.

it must needs appear to be, whensoever the infant attains to years and means of understanding it.

The second.

9. Secondly, it is the entering the infant into the Church, where the means of knowledge of duty dwells, and where it is early communicated to all, and so to this infant as soon as he is capable of receiving it; and the advantage hereof is inestimable, to be thus early taken up and prepossessed by Christ before any other competitor hath made his claim, or gotten admission or hold or interest in him.

The third.

10. Thirdly, it is the imposing a band and sacramental obligation upon him, an oath, a vow, which being the condition upon the constant performance whereof all the promises of endless bliss are made over to him by God, it is not possible for one that prizeth his own good to wish it had not been made, or deliberately to rescind or disclaim the standing obliged by it; and by this means it lays an absolute necessity, the greatest we have to secure all human affairs, on every one that hath been baptized, to undertake the performance of Christ's condition, i. e. of a pious and Christian life.

The fourth.

11. Fourthly, it is solemnized with the prayers and benedictions of the Church, which are always of great efficacy to bring down that which is prayed for, but are especially so when they are annexed to an institution of Christ, such as baptism is known to be; and the effect of those benedictions being the preventions, and illuminations, and assistances, and inspirations of God's good Spirit, the heavenly auxiliaries and secret hand by which God hath promised to fight against Amalek, against sin for ever, this, together with the former advantages, is very instrumental toward the beginning of this course, and engaging the infant betimes to a constant perseverance in it. And accordingly baptism in the Scripture, and the rest of the particulars which are to attend it, as in some respect they are to be looked on as privileges and advantages afforded us by Christ,—for such beyond all other things are those that effectually induce reformation or Christian life,—so are they most frequently considered as bands and obligations, and seals of the Christian's covenant with Christ, whereby he engages his soul to a faithful performance of his part of the covenant, and cannot now without perjury and apostacy wilfully recede from *it*.

12. After baptism, when that is in infancy received, as now in a Christian Church we suppose it to be, succeeds in the next place instruction and institution in the nature and several branches of that vow which was made at the font, and this in such a short, perspicuous, intelligible manner, and in so particular address and application to every single person,—which, with the narrow-mouthed bottle in Quintilian[u], will not probably be filled with throwing whole buckets of water over it,—to which preaching is most fit to be compared,—and therefore requires to be taken single in the hand, and to have that which is needful, warily and with care infused into it,—that it is hardly imaginable how a more provident course should be taken than is by the Church appointed to be used, to convince every young person of his obligation, and to qualify him judiciously and warily to take that oath in his own person which was by proxies formerly taken for him, and what greater band can lie on any to undertake the duties of Christian life, than the thus surveying and renewing of that oath?

Catechizing.

13. And what is thus prepared for in catechizing is in the third place performed by confirmation, a most profitable usage of the Church transcribed from the practice of the Apostles, which consists of two parts, the child's undertaking in his own name every part of the baptismal vow, having first approved himself to understand it, and to that purpose, that he may more solemnly enter this obligation, bringing some god-father with him, not now, as in baptism, as his procurator to undertake for him, but as a witness to testify his entering this obligation, which one thing being heedfully and piously performed is the greatest engagement imaginable to the performance of the matter of the vow, in which all Christian belief and practice is folded up, considering that every act of presumptuous sin which shall ever be committed against that vow, brings the guilt of formal downright perjury along with it, together with the punishment that belongs to that great and criminous guilt, and

Confirmation.

The first part thereof.

[u] [Nam ut vascula oris angusti superfusam humoris copiam respuunt, sensim autem influentibus vel etiam instillatis complentur, sic animi puerorum quantum excipere possint videndum est; nam majora intellectu, velut parum apertos ad percipiendum animos non subibunt.—Quintil. de institutione Oratoria, lib. i. cap. 2.]

CHAP. XIX.

the forfeiture of his right and claim to all those mercies which either in baptism or confirmation are made over to him by Christ.

The second.

14. The second part of confirmation is the prayer and benediction of the bishop, the successor of the Apostles in this office, and that made more solemn by the ceremony of imposition of hands, a custom indeed of the Jewish parents in blessing their children, but taken up by the Apostles themselves, instead of that divine insufflation which Christ had used to them in conferring the Holy Ghost upon them, as an outward sign of the same, as for holy orders, so for confirmation of believers after baptism. And the matter of this benediction and petition being the strength of Christ, the daily increase of the manifold gifts of grace, the spirit of wisdom, understanding, counsel and ghostly strength, of knowledge and true godliness and holy fear, as the bestowing of these upon the child is both the strengthening and engaging him to all piety, so the bishop's prayer being thus, by virtue of his office, offered up, and having the suffrages of the whole congregation to join with it, and being commenced to God for that boon (the Spirit) which He hath promised to grant to our importunity, it may most reasonably be presumed to be of force and efficacy with God to bring down that grace which may enable to will and to do, on all that come duly qualified to receive it.

John xx. 22. Acts vi. 6. Acts viii. 18.

15. To which I may add, that this being designed by the Church to certify those that are thus confirmed of God's favour and gracious goodness toward them, it hath all the advantages that either hope of acceptance and reward, or a grateful sense of mercies received can add to it, to engage and oblige us to a constant obedience to Him.

The Lord's supper. In five considerations.

16. Fourthly, those which are thus confirmed are thereby supposed to be fit for admission to that other sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, instituted in the close of His last supper. And that, whether it be considered, 1. as an institution of Christ for the solemn commemorating of His death; or 2. as a sacrifice eucharistical performed by the Christian to God; or 3. as the *κοινωνία*, 'communication' of the body and blood of Christ, the means of conveying all the benefits of the crucified Saviour unto all that come fitly

prepared and qualified for them; or whether 4. as a federal rite betwixt the soul and Christ, eating and drinking at His table, and thereby engaging our obedience to Him; or lastly, as an emblem of the most perfect divine charity to be observed among all Christians: in all and every of these respects, I say, it is doubtless an instrument of great virtue, that hath a peculiar propriety to engage the receiver to persevere in all piety; and that yet further improved by the frequent iteration and repetition of that sacrament.

17. First, as it is the commemorating the death of Christ, so it is the professing ourselves the disciples of the crucified Saviour, and that engageth us to "take up His cross and follow Him," and not to fall off from Him for any temptations, or terrors of death itself, but to resist to blood, as Christ did, in our spiritual ἀγῶνες, our Olympics or combats against sin. The first. [Mark viii. 34.]

18. Secondly, as it is the eucharistical Christian sacrifice, so it is formally the practising of several acts of Christian virtue; 1. of prayer, of thanksgiving, of all kind of piety towards God; 2. of charity to our brethren, both that spiritual, of "interceding for all men, for kings," &c., and corporal, in the offertory, for the relief of those that want; and 3. the offering up and so consecrating "ourselves, our souls and bodies to be a holy, lively, acceptable sacrifice" to God, the devoting ourselves to His service all our days; and this last a large comprehensive act of piety, which contains all particular branches under it, and is again the repeating of the baptismal vow, and the yet closer binding of this engagement on us. The second. 1 Tim. ii. 2. [Rom. xii. 1.]

19. Thirdly, as it is by God designed, and as an institution of His, blessed and consecrated by Him into a sacrament, a holy rite, a means of conveying and communicating to the worthy receiver the benefits of the body and blood of Christ, that pardon of sin and sufficiency of strength and grace which were purchased by His death and typified and consigned to us by the sacramental elements, so it is again the ridding us of all our discouraging fears, and the animating and obliging of us to make use of that grace which will carry us, if we do not wilfully betray our succours, victoriously through all difficulties. The third.

CHAP. XIX.

The fourth.

20. Fourthly, as it is a federal rite betwixt God and us, as eating and drinking both among the Jews and heathens was wont to be, so it is on our part the solemn undertaking of the condition required of us to make us capable of the benefit of God's new evangelical covenant, and that is sincere performance of all duties prescribed the Christian by Christ; and he that doth no longer expect good from God than he performs that condition, is *ipso facto* divested of all those fallacious flattering hopes, which pretended to make purifying unnecessary, and must now either live purely and piously, or else disclaim ever seeing of God.

The fifth.

21. Lastly, as this supper of the Lord is a token and engagement of charity among the disciples of Christ, so it is the supplanting of all the most diabolical sins, the filthiness of the spirit, the hatred, variance, emulation, strife, revenge, faction, schism, that have been the tearing and rending of the Church of God,—ofttimes upon pretence of the greatest piety,—but were by Christ of all other things most passionately disclaimed, and cast out of His temple. And if by the admonitions which this emblem is ready to afford us, we can think ourselves obliged to return to that charity and peaceable-mindedness which Christ so frequently and vehemently recommends to us, we have His own promise that the "whole body shall be full of light," that all other Christian virtues will by way of concomitance or annexation accompany or attend them in our hearts.

Matt. vi. 22.

The frequency of receiving it.

22. And the several happy influences of all and each these considerations, especially when they are superadded to the three former grand instruments, and frequently, every month at least, and every great festivity, called in to reinforce our watch, to remand us to our scrutiny,—the examination and search of our hearts and purging out all impurity that hath been contracted in those intervals,—and to renew our vows of temper and vigilance, may very reasonably be allowed to have some considerable virtue and efficacy in them, to advance that work for which Christ came out from the bosom of His Father, to superstruct the practice of all virtue, where the faith of Christ is once planted.

23. After these four, which are thus subordinate and preparative the one to the other, the latter still bringing with it

an addition of weight to the former, two more there are which are several from, and yet being of continual use are interweaved and mixed with every of these, and having their distinct energy proper to themselves, when they are in conjunction with the former, or added to them, they must needs accumulate and superadd a considerable weight unto them.

The use of Liturgy.

24. The first is the use of Liturgy, the second the word of exhortation among the Jews and in the Apostles' times, and proportionable to that, the sermons or homilies of the Church.

The use of Liturgy.

25. The Liturgy as it contains the whole daily office, consisting of confession, prayers, psalms, hymns, reading of the Scripture of both Testaments, creeds, supplications, intercessions, thanksgivings, injunctions of gestures and of ceremonies, and of holy-days, is both the exercise of many parts of piety, and the conservatory of the foundation on which all piety together is regularly built, and a means of heightening devotion and infusing zeal into it; and the diligent, worthy, continual, instead of the negligent, formal, rarer, use of it, and the unanimous accord of whole societies and multitudes herein, would certainly be very efficacious advancers of all Christian virtue, of piety, of charity, of purity, over the world, of the two former directly, and of the latter by way of diversion, the frequent performance of such offices obstructing and sealing up the fountains of impurity, and intercepting that leisure, which is necessary to the entertaining the beginnings of it.

Of preaching.

26. So for preaching or exhorting the people by way of homily, it appears to have been received from the Jewish by the Christian Church, and by the phrase by which it is expressed in the Acts, "a word of exhortation to the people," [Acts xiii. 15.] it appears to have been generally employed in reprehension of vices and exhortation to virtuous living. And if we survey the homilies of the ancient Church, such are those of St. Chrysostom most eminently, we shall discern that as upon festival days the subject of the homily was constantly the business of the day, the clearing the mystery, the incarnation of Christ, &c., and the recommending the actions or sufferings of the saints, and raising men's hearts to acknowledge the goodness of God in setting up such exemplary

CHAP. XIX.

patterns and guides before us, so upon other days, after some short literal explication of some place of Scripture, the custom was not to raise doctrinal points, according to every preacher's judgment or fancy, but presently to fall off to exhortation to temperance, continence, patience, and the like Christian virtues, which either the propriety of the text, or the wants and sins of the auditory, or the times suggested to them; and this so far from being a fault in their method of preaching, that it was an eminent exemplary piece of Christian prudence, observable and imitable in them, as a means of keeping false or unnecessary definitions out of the Church, which tend to the increase of disputes and contentions, and whilst they do so, are not to the edification and benefit, but to the destruction and mischief of the hearers.

27. Of this usage of the Church it is most visible,—if it be but by the ill uses which are made of it many times in stirring up seditions, rebellions, murders, hatreds, animosities, calumnies, revilings of superiors, &c., in disseminating of heresies, infusing of prejudices, &c.,—what advantage may be had toward the advancement of all parts of Christian life by a due performance of it. It is very much in the power of a popular orator to represent vices in so formidable yet just appearances, and to set out each virtue in so amiable a form, and to apply this so particularly to those that are concerned to be thus wrought on, that the covetous person shall fly from and scatter most liberally his beloved idol, wealth, the rageful person shall find a calm, the lustful a coldness insensibly diffused upon his breast, and the auditor's fancy and sensitive affections being called in to join with his reason and the Spirit of God, it will by the blessing of that Spirit be in the power of meditation to radicate these seeds, to fix this transient gleam of light and warmth, to confirm inclinations and resolutions of good, received in at the ear, and give them a durable consistence in the soul.

Visitation of the sick. Jam. v. 14.

28. Next to this is the spiritual person's being called for, and obeying the summons, to visit the sick, to assist him in the great work of discussing and examining his conscience; of making his search as particular as it can, whether it be any sin either unreformed, or insufficiently mortified, which

may have laid him under God's present displeasure, and brought that disease, as a piece of discipline, upon him. In this condition the rod of God hath a voice to be heard, and he whose office it is in public to explain the oracles of God for the use of the Church, and to apply them to each man's wants, is now to preach on this new text, and expound to the sick man, as far as by the closest inspection he can judge, the particular meaning of the voice, the interpretation of God's message to him; and if he be not able, like Daniel, to interpret Nebuchadnezzar's dream or Belshazzar's hand-writing on the wall, which was the work of a prophet extraordinarily inspired, yet he may without the spirit of divination discern that affinity and dependence betwixt the man's unreformed sins and God's hand of punishment, which may be sufficient ground of superstructing Daniel's exhortation of "breaking off his sins by repentance, and shewing mercy to the poor," by humiliation, sincere resolution and vow of new life, and by meet fruits of such reformation, the highest works of charity and piety that the patient is capable of. And besides that this method may receive some force, and probably prove successful, by assistance of those impressions that the desire of recovering the former health may have upon the patient,—when he considers the pardon of sins, which ordinarily introduced Christ's corporal cures, and prudently judgeth how improbable it is, that God, which for any sin committed hath inflicted this disease, should remove it before reformation, or if He doth, must do it as an act of higher wrath and punishment,—besides this, I say, the time of sickness, or any other affliction, is like the cool of the day to Adam, a season of peculiar propriety for the voice of God to be heard in the mouth of His messengers, and so may, by the assistance of united prayers for God's blessing on his own instruments, be improved into a very advantageous opportunity of begetting or increasing spiritual life in the soul, and cannot without great guilt of unkindness and treachery to that most precious part be neglected or omitted by us.

[Dan. iv. 27.]

Spiritual conference.

29. And the analogy holds, though not in the same degree, yet in the proportion, to every other season or person who is under the power of any unreformed sin, or

CHAP. XIX.

is doubtful of the sincerity of the kind or sufficiency of the degree of his change, and is not so fit or competent a judge of his own estate,—if upon no other score but because his own,—as any other fellow Christian of no deeper judgment than himself, or as the spiritual person, whose office it is to watch for his soul, and is probably furnished with more skill, fidelity, and zeal toward the doing of it, may be deemed to be. And in this case the use of spiritual conference, which is at all times very profitable, yea and pleasant to every diligent humble Christian, is unimaginable and unspeakable, especially if it be free and unrestrained, having all the advantages of the divinest friendship, and withal all the contentments and satisfactions of it, which are exceedingly great and agreeable to rational ingenuous natures, and bearing an image and lively resemblance of that conversation which is among angels and beatified saints, a communication and conjunction of souls, designed to our highest interests and concernments, the countermining and eradicating of sin, mortifying this or that passion, rage, or other sensual desire, and contending for the highest exaltation and improvement of our natures, all growth in grace, and the practical knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

30. Many enhancements of this spiritual, useful, though more private exercise, might be further noted, and rules for the more advantageous practice of it, especially that there were some eminent persons, of known abilities, experience, judgment, gravity, fidelity, zeal to all Christian virtue and the good of souls, set apart to this one office of spiritual conference, in every province, and all men rationally convinced of the great benefits that might be reaped by a frequent resort to them in all possible times of need, and of the no kind of detriment or disadvantage that they can suffer by it.

The power of the keys.

31. But beyond all these there is another very efficacious method still behind, of which the Apostle saith, that it was not carnal or weak, but mighty to God, or very powerful, for the bringing down of strong holds, for the subduing of the most obstinate, contumacious sinner, and bringing him into the obedience of the faith of Christ, and that is the

[2 Cor. x. 4.]

power and exercise of the keys committed to the Apostles and their successors by Christ, the weapons of their warfare, as St. Paul calls them, the means of discharging their office to the good of souls. CHAP. XIX.

32. For when any baptized, instructed, confirmed, communicated Christian, which hath participated of the Liturgy and sermons of the Church, shall in despite of all these obligations, very competent and sufficient to have restrained him, break out into any known, wilful, scandalous sin, this course is then ready at hand, to be sent as an officer to arrest and reduce him; first the admonitions, fraternal or paternal, of his fellow Christians, or of the governors of the Church, then more public reprehensions and increpations, and upon the unsuccessfulness of all these milder medicaments, the use of that stronger physic, the censures of the Church, either *πρὸς ὥραν*, for a determinate, shorter space, or else indefinitely, *usque ad reformationem*, 'until he reform and return,' and then when he doth so, the admitting him to penance, to approve the sincerity of his change by meet fruits of repentance, and then, and not till then, allowing him the benefit of absolution.

33. The efficacy and usefulness of this last method hath elsewhere[x] been shewn at large,—in a tract on that subject,—especially upon the score of shame, when he that will live the life of a heathen, go on unreformed in any open sin, shall not be allowed the honour of a Christian name, of an ordinary good reputation among men, but be banished and interdicted the enjoyment of those sacred privileges which the meanest of Christ's flock is allowed by Him. What these losses are, is sufficiently known and set off by the Apostle's style, expressing them by *καθαίρεσις* and *ἀποτομία*, 'destruction' and 'excision,' and the like. As for that other of shame, the efficacy that belongs to it may be discerned by that ancient apophthegm of Cleobulus[y], the fifth of the sages of Greece, *μάλιστα σωφρονεῖν δῆμον, ὅπου τὸν ψόγον μᾶλλον οἱ πολιτεύομενοι δεδοίκασιν ἢ τὸν νόμον*, "that that people are composed to the greatest sobriety, among whom the citizens stand in more fear of dispraise than of law;"

[x] [See the tract 'Of the Power of the Keys,' Works, vol. i. pp. 406, sqq.]

[y] Stobæus, [tit. xliii. 131.]

CHAP. XIX.

supposing that state to be best qualified, where virtue and every part of good living, which laws are wont to prescribe, hath acquired so great a credit and reputation among all, that without fear of punishment from laws or magistrates, the very dread of shame and disgrace shall be able to contain all men within the bounds of exact living, and awe them from admitting any thing which is foul or sinful. To which purpose also is that of Hippodamus[z] the Pythagorean, that there be three causes of virtue, *φόβος, ἐπιθυμία, αἰδὼς*, and shame is the last of them, of which, saith he, *τὰ ἔθεα δυνασεῖται ἐμπαρασκευάζειν, κ. τ. λ.*, "good customs are able to infuse a dread into all men, that are *καλῶς ἐθισθέντες*, well cultivated," and make them *αἰδεῖσθαι τὰ αἰσχρὰ πράσσειν*, "to have a reverence," or pudicitious, chaste fear "of doing any thing which is ill." And according to this prudential notion of these wise men of the world, is this piece of Christian discipline instituted by our Saviour, to deprive vice of its greatest temptation, the praise of men, to exalt and set up virtue the only creditable thing, and brand sin as infamous. And if this of shame superadded to the former of loss,—and both being met together, as the sinner's portion here, perfectly prefiguring the two saddest ingredients in hell, deprivation of the blissful vision, and confusion of face,—cannot prove efficacious and successful to the mortifying of unprofitable vice, the Church doth then give over the patient as desperate; pretends not to any further methods of working on such obdurate sinners.

This the last ecclesiastical means.

34. Nor indeed is it reasonable it should, when beside the foundation,—consisting of so many stones, each of them elect and precious, chosen by the wisdom of Heaven for this admirable work of reforming the most obdurate Jew or heathen,—this series and succession of so many powerful methods being further prescribed by God and administered by the Church,

[z] [*ἔπει δὲ τῶς ἀρετᾶς αἰτίαι τυγχάνοντι τρεῖς φόβος, ἐπιθυμία, αἰδώς· δυνασεῖται δὲ τὸν μὲν φόβον ὁ νόμος ἐμπαρασκευάζειν, τὰν δὲ αἰδῶ τὰ ἔθεα· τοὶ γὰρ ἐθισθέντες καλῶς αἰδέονται τὰ αἰσχρὰ πράσσειν· ὁ δὲ λόγος τὰν ἐπιθυμίαν· ἀγωγὸν γὰρ τῶς αἰτίας ἀπόδοσις ἅμα καὶ ἐφελκυστικὸν τᾶς ψυχᾶς, ἄλλως τε δὴ καὶ γιγνόμενον μετὰ προτροπᾶς· διὸ καὶ φρατρίας καὶ συσσίτια καὶ συσκανίας καὶ συναγελισμοὺς, τὰ μὲν στρατιωτικοὺς, τὰ δὲ καὶ πολιτικοὺς ἐγκαταskευάζειν δεῖ ταῖς τῶν νέων ψυχαῖς, συναρμόζειν δὲ καὶ τὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων γένος αὐτοῖς, ἐπειδήπερ τοὶ μὲν νέοι δέονται σωφρονισμῶ καὶ καταρτύσιος, τοὶ δὲ πρεσβύτεροι φιλοφροσύνας καὶ διαγωγᾶς ἀλίπω.*]—Lib. de Republ. [ap. Stobæum, tit. xliii. 93.]

have found so discouraging a reception, that nothing but the violence of storming or battery,—the course which God is forced to take for the destroying, but cannot, without changing the course of nature, for the converting of sinners,—can hope or pretend to prove successful to them.

The necessity of governors in the Church.

35. What hath been said of the wise disposition of God in preparing and instituting this series of necessaries for the effecting this great work, the reformation of men's lives,—the latter annexed to the former, each to add weight and authority, and to vindicate the contempts of the former,—might more largely be insisted on yet, on a further design, to give us a just value of that sacred office which Christ fixed in the Church in His Apostles and the bishops their successors, and honoured it and them in this especially, that He hath put these weapons into their hands, intrusted to, and invested in them the power of dispensing all these, and by that means rendered them necessary to the planting and supporting a Church of vital Christians, to the maintaining of pious practice in any community of professors. But this would soon swell this discourse beyond the limits designed to it.

The conclusion.

36. All that is behind will be by way of comment on that part of the Church of England's charity, which hath constantly called to God, that He will "inspire continually the universal Church with the Spirit of truth, unity and concord, and grant that all they that do confess His holy name, may agree in the truth of His holy word, and live in unity and godly love."

A PRAYER.

A Prayer. O MOST gracious Lord God, the Creator of all things, but of men and all mankind a tender compassionate Father in Jesus Christ, Thou that hast enlarged Thy designs and purposes of grace and mercy, as the bowels and blood-shedding of Thy Son, with an earnest desire that every weak or sinful man should partake of that abyss, that infinite treasure of Thy bounty, Thou that hast bequeathed to us that legacy and example of a sacred inviolate peace, a large diffusive charity; we meekly beseech Thee to overshadow with Thy heavenly grace the souls of all men over all the world, O Lord, Thou lover of souls, to bring home to the acknowledgment and embraces of Thy Son all that are yet strangers to that profession, and in whatsoever any of us, who have already received that mercy from Thee, may be any way useful or instrumental to that so glorious end, to direct and incline our hearts toward it, to work in us all an holy zeal to Thy name, and tender bowels to all those whose eternity is concerned in it. O give us a true serious full comprehension and value of that one great interest of others, as well as ourselves; shew us, the meanest of us, some way to contribute toward it, if it be but our daily affectionate prayers for the enlarging of Thy kingdom, and the care of approving all our actions so as may most effectually attract all to this profession. And for all those that have already that glorious name of Thy Son called upon them, blessed Lord, that they may at length, according to the many engagements of their profession, depart from iniquity, that that holy city, that new Jerusalem, may at length according to Thy promise descend from heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for the husband Christ, that that tabernacle of God with men may be illustriously visible among us, that we may be a peculiar people, and Thou our God inhabiting in power among us, that we which have so long professed Thee, and been instructed by Thee, may no longer content ourselves with that form of knowledge, which so often engenders strife,

contentions, animosities, separating, and condemning one another, and that most unchristian detestable guilt of blood, but endeavour and earnestly contend for the uniform effectual practice of all the precepts of Thy Son, the fruits and power of all godliness, that all the princes and people of Christendom, the pastors and the sheep of Thy fold, may at length in some degree walk worthy of that light and that warmth, that knowledge and those graces, that the Sun of Righteousness with healing in His wings hath so long poured out upon us. Lord purge and powerfully work out of all hearts that profaneness and atheisticalness; those sacrilegious thirsts and enormous violations of all that is holy; those unpeaceable, rebellious, mutinous, and withal tyrannizing cruel spirits; those prides and haughtinesses, judging and condemning, defaming and despising of others; those unlimited ambitions and covetings, joined with the invasion and violation of others' rights; those most reproachful excesses and abominable impurities, which to the shame of our unreformed obdurate hearts, do still remain unmortified, unsubdued among us; but above all, those infamous hypocrisies of suborning religion to be the engine of advancing our secular designs, or the disguise to conceal the foulest intentions, of bringing down that most sacred name whereby we should be saved, to be the vilest instrument of all carnality; and by the power of Thy convincing Spirit, Lord humble and subdue all that exalts itself against the obedience of Christ. And when Thou hast cast out so many evil spirits, be pleased Thyself to possess and enrich our souls, to plant and root and confirm and secure in us all those precious fruits of piety, and faith, and obedience, and zeal towards Thee; of purity and meekness, and simplicity, and contentedness, and sobriety, in ourselves; of justice and charity, and peaceableness, and bowels of mercy, and compassion toward all others; that having seriously, and industriously, as our holy vocation engages us, used all diligence to add unto our faith, virtue, and to virtue, patience, and perseverance in all Christian practice, we may adorn that profession, which we have so long depraved, and having had our fruit unto holiness, we may obtain our end everlasting life, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

OF

SCHISM.

A

DEFENCE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND,

AGAINST THE

EXCEPTIONS OF THE ROMANISTS.

[*SECOND EDITION.*]

CONTENTS OF SCHISM.

PAGE

CHAP. I.—AN INTRODUCTION, THE DANGER AND SIN OF SCHISM . 195

CHAP. II.—WHAT SCHISM IS, TOGETHER WITH SOME GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS THEREON 201

CHAP. III.—THE SEVERAL SORTS OF SCHISM . . . 211

CHAP. IV.—THE PRETENDED EVIDENCES OF THE ROMANIST AGAINST THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND EXAMINED, AND FIRST THAT FROM THE BISHOP OF ROME'S SUPREMACY BY CHRIST'S DONATION TO ST. PETER 232

CHAP. V.—THE EVIDENCES FROM THE BISHOP OF ROME'S SUCCEEDING ST. PETER EXAMINED 245

CHAP. VI.—THEIR SECOND PLEA, FROM THE BISHOP OF ROME HAVING PLANTED CHRISTIANITY AMONG US 253

CHAP. VII.—THEIR THIRD EVIDENCE FROM OUR CASTING OFF OBEDIENCE TO THE BISHOP OF ROME AT THE REFORMATION . . 267

CHAP. VIII.—OF THE SECOND SORT OF SCHISM, AS THAT IS AN OFFENCE AGAINST MUTUAL CHARITY. THIS DIVIDED INTO THREE SPECIES, AND THE FIRST HERE EXAMINED 278

CHAP. IX.—THE SECOND SPECIES OF THIS SCHISM EXAMINED, AS IT IS AN OFFENCE AGAINST EXTERNAL PEACE, OR COMMUNION ECCLESIASTICAL 282

CHAP. X. THE THIRD SPECIES OF THIS SCHISM, AS AN OFFENCE AGAINST THAT CHARITY DUE FROM EVERY CHRISTIAN TO EVERY CHRISTIAN, EXAMINED 285

CHAP. XI.—CONCERNING THE PRESENT PERSECUTION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, AND THE ADVANTAGES SOUGHT FROM THENCE . 287

OF SCHISM.

A DEFENCE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AGAINST THE OBJECTIONS OF THE ROMANIST.

CHAP. I.

AN INTRODUCTION, THE DANGER AND SIN OF SCHISM.

1. Two wishes rather than hopes there are, wherein all Christians are very much concerned; first, that all that have given up their names to that holy profession, would sincerely betake themselves to the discharge of all those duties, as well more common, one towards another, as more particular, of each single man toward God and toward himself, which Christ came on purpose to plant in, or reduce into the world; the second, that the faith of Christ might gain an amicable, universal reception in the hearts of all men over the whole world, and that all mankind, by an uniform obedience to those divine precepts which are most agreeable to our rational, i. e. human nature, and which are able to advance us to the highest pitch of moral excellency and dignity, that any created substance is capable of, might attain the great end of our creation, a paradise, or blissful being here in this world, only with the mixture of some allays to that bliss,—and those necessary both to the exercise of some most eminent virtues, and such as the angels are not, for want of passible bodies, capable of, and also to the enhancing of our crown,—and then a state of infinite reward and uncompounded felicity hereafter.

Two concernments of all Christians.

Practice of Christianity.

Propagating of it.

2. That the latter of these may in God's good time be effectually attempted by all Christian kings and bishops, and advance more successfully than of late it hath done, ought to be the endeavour of all those whose eminency in the world hath given them capacities or qualifications to contribute some considerable degree of assistance to so glorious

What is to be done toward the latter.

CHAP. I.

a work. And for others, whose inferiority of condition or sphere of motion, and the improbability, consequent to that, of advancing so magnificent a design, is their just excuse for not entertaining any such hopeless thoughts, it is yet their certain duty by constant fervent prayers to solicit the good hand of God, who alone can accomplish so divine a work, and by the diligent strict observance of all Christ's precepts to exemplify to all others the power and real energy of the faith of Christ, where it is admitted into the heart, thereby to attract all others to the embracing of that which hath such admirable virtues in it.

The chief branches of the former considered in society.

3. As for the former, that is, in proportion to his condition, the known duty of every single Christian, much more of every congregation and community of such; who are therefore associated into one body, that each supplying the defects and infirmities of others, they may, by so advantageous an instrument as union of forces is, be enabled to do what without it they are justly supposable to want means or strength to do, and so are deprived of all excuse, if they be found culpable.

Charity. Obedience. Paternal exercise of ecclesiastical power.

4. In this kind; 1. the duty of charity, and peace to all; 2. of ready and filial obedience of those under authority to their lawful authorized superiors; and 3. of charitative paternal exercise of their power, in all those that are invested with it by Christ, may be justly looked on as virtues of the first magnitude, which have the most lively characters and impresses of the law-giver Christ's image and superscription upon them, and accordingly deserve the first-fruits of our care and diligence that they be most diligently conserved, where they are, and industriously reduced, where by the malignity or infelicity of the times they are torn or escaped from us.

The contrariety of schism to the doctrine of Christ.

5. For that malices, and rancours, and animosities among single Christians, but especially seditious, mutinous spirits, that divisions, and schisms, and ruptures, and preparative thereto causeless anathematizing and tyrannizing over the faith of Christ's flock, are most scandalously contrary to Christ's platform, to the prophecy of the plough-shares and pruning-hooks, the happy exchange for the sanguinary, hostile instruments, is a truth so eminently and signally

[Isa. ii. 4; Mic. iv. 3.]

visible in the practice and doctrine of Christ and His Apostles, that it cannot be doubted or questioned on either side. And agreeably, there is no one voice which hath fallen under so much of the displeasure, and correption, and severest discipline of the holy fathers of the ancient Church, as this of schism, and the ingredients and preparatives to it, have done.

The fathers' censures of it. 1 Cor. iii. 4; Jude 19.

6. It is but a small part of the character thereof, that from St. Paul and St. Jude they tell us that it is a special piece of carnality[a]; an excommunicating and condemning[b], i. e. voluntary inflicting of that punishment on one's-self, which the governors of the Church use to inflict on the most scandalous sinners; that they that so divide on their own presumption, may not at their own will return to the Church[c], and communicate again with the bishop and his

[a] See Fulgentius ad Monimum, lib. ii. [cap. 2, 3, 5, 12.]

[b] [Quo sacramento declaratur in unam domum solam id est in ecclesiam, victuros et ab interitu mundi evasuros colligi oportere,] quisque [autem de collectis foras exierit, id est si quis quamvis] in ecclesia gratiam consecutus, [recesserit et] ab ecclesia exierit, reum sibi futurum, id est ipsum sibi quod pereat imputaturum. Quod Apostolus [Paulus] explanat, docens [et præcipiens] hæreticum vitandum esse ut [perversum et peccatorem et] a semetipso damnatum. [Hic enim reus sibi erit qui non ab episcopo ejectus sed sponte de ecclesia profugus, hæretica præsumptione a semetipso damnatus.—S.] Cypr., Ep. 76. [p. 153.]

[Et quidem de Dei providentia, nobis hoc nec volentibus nec optantibus, immo et ignoscentibus et tacentibus] pœnas quas meruerant pependerunt, ut a nobis non ejecti ultro se ejicerent, [ipsi in se pro conscientia sua sententiam darent, secundum vestra et divina suffragia conjurati et scelerati] de ecclesia sponte se pellerent.—Id., Ep. 40. [p. 52.]

[Peccatum vero quam magnum tibi exaggerasti] quando te a tot gregibus scidisti? Exscidisti enim teipsum. [Noli te fallere: siquidem ille est vere schismaticus qui se a communione ecclesiasticæ unitatis apostatam fecerit. Dum enim putas omnes a te abstinere posse, solum te ab omnibus abstinuisti.]—Firmiliani ad Cypr. Ep. 75. [p. 150.]

[c] [Siquis autem pœnitentiam agere et Deo satisfacere detrectans, ad Felicissimi et satellitum ejus partes concesserit et se hæreticæ factioni conjunxerit,] sciat se postea ad ecclesiam redire et cum episcopis et plebe Christi communicare non posse.—S. Cypr. Ep. 40. [p. 55.]

Aversandus est talis atque fugiendus quisquis fuerit ab ecclesia separatus. [Perversus est hujusmodi et peccat et est a semetipso damnatus. An esse sibi cum Christo videtur qui adversus sacerdotes Christi facit, qui se a cleri ejus et plebis societate secernit?] Arma ille contra ecclesiam portat, [contra Dei dispositionem repugnat. Hostis altaris, adversus sacrificium Christi rebellis, pro fide perfidus, pro religione sacrilegus, inobsequens servus, filius impius, frater inimicus, contemptis episcopis, et Dei sacerdotibus derelictis, constituere] audet [aliud altare,] precem alteram illicitis vocibus facere, dominicæ hostiæ veritatem per falsa sacrificia profanare [nec scire quoniam qui contra ordinationem Dei nititur ob temeritatis audaciam divina animadversione punitur.—S. Cypr.] de Unit. Eccl., [p. 200.]

Hanc Ecclesiæ unitatem qui non tenet, tenere se fidem credit? [Qui ecclesiæ renititur et resistit, qui cathedram Petri super quem fundata est ecclesia deserit, in ecclesia se esse confidit?]—Ibid., [p. 195.]

Schisma non faciendum etiamsi in una fide et in eadem traditione permaneat qui recedit.—S. Cypr. Testim., lib. iii. c. 86. [p. 325.]

[Unitatem simul et dilectionem ma-

CHAP. I.

Christian people; that it is contrary to the faith, even when it hath not, in respect of doctrinal points, any heresy joined with it; contrary to charity, yea to all the advantages that belong to a member of the Church[d], the benefits of prayers and sacraments[e]; that it is as bad as heresy[f]; that there was never any heresy in the Church which was not founded in it[g]; and that it is constantly forced, in its own defence, to conclude in some heresy or other[h];—all of which being put together will be sufficient to keep men from being in love with the guilt or company of schismatics:—but it is further branded with these superadditions of terror, that there is scarce any crime so great as schism[i], not idolatry[k], sacrilege, parricide; that it hath

gisterio suo docuit, prophetas omnes et legem præceptis duobus inclusit.] Quam vero [unitatem servat, quam] dilectionem custodit aut cogitat qui discordiæ furore vesanus ecclesiam scindit,] fidem destruit, [pacem turbat, caritatem dissipat, sacramentum profanat?]—Id., de Unit. Eccl., [p. 199.]

[d] [Adulterari non potest sponsa Christi, incorrupta est et pudica. Unam domum novit, unius cubiculi sanctitatem casto pudore custodit. Hæc nos Deo servat, hæc filios regno quos generavit assignat.] Quisquis ab Ecclesia segregatus adulteræ jungitur a promissis Ecclesiæ separatur. [Nec perveniet ad Christi præmia qui relinquit ecclesiam Christi. Alienus est, profanus est, hostis est.] Habere jam non potest Deum patrem qui ecclesiam non habet matrem.—Ibid., [p. 195.]

[*Si duobus* inquit ex vobis *convenerit in terra*: unanimitatem prius posuit, concordiam pacis ante præmisit, ut conveniat nobis fideliter et firmiter docuit.] Quomodo [autem] potest ei cum aliquo convenire cui cum corpore ipsius ecclesiæ et cum universa fraternitate non convenit. Quomodo possunt aut duo aut tres in nomine Christi colligi quos constat a Christo et ab ejus evangelio separari? [Non enim nos ab illis sed illi a nobis recesserunt. Et cum hæreses et schismata postmodum nata sint,] dum conventicula sibi diversa constituunt, veritatis caput atque originem reliquerunt.—Ibid., [p. 198.]

[Propter quod Novatianus nec debet nec potest excipi quo minus ipse quoque] extra ecclesiam consistens et contra pacem ac dilectionem Christi faciens, inter adversarios [et antichristos] computetur.—Id., Ep. 76. [p. 151.]

[e] ὑστερεῖται τοῦ ἄρτου Θεοῦ.—S. Ignat. Ep. ad Eph. [cap. 5.]

Unde manifestum est apud omnes [hæreticos] spiritus sancti gratiam non esse, nec eorum sacrificia [quamdiu hæretici sunt] posse Deo placere, neque spiritalis gratiæ sanctificationem sacrificiis eorum tribui qui offerunt ab ecclesiastici corporis unitate disjuncti. Solius enim ecclesiæ Deus delectatur sacrificiis, quod sacrificium Deo facit unitas spiritalis ubi [et fidei veritas nullam credit in Trinitate distantiam, et] pacis tenacitas fraternam servat in caritate concordiam.—Fulgent. ad Monim., lib. ii. [cap. 11. See also note c, p. 197.]

[f] τοῦ εἰς αἵρεσιν ἐμπεσεῖν τὸ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν σχίσαι οὐκ ἔλαττόν ἐστι κακόν.—S. Chrys. in Ep. ad Eph. [Hom. xi. tom. xi. p. 88.]

[g] Quis unquam hæreses instituit, nisi qui se prius ab Ecclesiæ Catholicæ universitatis et antiquitatis consensione discreverit?—Vincent., c. 24.

[h] Nullum schisma non sibi aliquam confingit hæresim, ut recte ab Ecclesia recessisse videatur.—S. Hieron. ad Tit., c. 3. [tom. iv. p. 439.]

[i] Non esse quicquam gravius sacrilegio schismatis.—S. Aug. contra Parmen., lib. ii. c. 11.

[Parvum erat traditionis facinus quod per Donatum Masculitanum et cæteros supra dictos constabat admissum: etiam] ingens flagitium schismatis traditioni junxerunt.—S. Optat., [lib. i. c. 20.]

[k] Διονύσιος Νουάτῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν· εἰ ἄκων ὡς φὴς, ἤχθης, δείξεις ἐὰν ἀναχωρήσῃς ἑκών· ἔδει μὲν γὰρ

been under peculiar marks of God's indignation, in the story of the Jewish Church, as in the case of the ten tribes, and of the Samaritans, who are ranked with the gentiles, and so in the story of Core[l], &c., that it is the antichristianism[m] mentioned by St. John, the worshipping or serving the devil[n], and, in a word, so great a crime, that it is not expiable by martyrdom[o] to him that continues in, and hath not repented, and returned from it.

CHAP. I.

Matt. x. 5.

καὶ πᾶν ὁτιοῦν παθεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ διακόψαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἦν οὐκ ἀδοξοτέρα τῆς ἕνεκεν τοῦ μὴ εἰδωλολατρῆσαι γινομένης ἡ ἕνεκεν τοῦ μὴ σχίσαι μαρτυρία, κατ' ἐμὲ δὲ [καὶ] μείζων.—Dionys. ap. Euseb., lib. vi. c. 45. Pejus hoc crimen est quam quod admisisse lapsi videntur, [qui tamen in pœnitentia criminis constituti, Deum plenis satisfactionibus deprecantur.—S.] Cypr. de Unit. Eccl., [p. 201.]

[l] [Denique quam sit inseparabile unitatis sacramentum et] quam sine spe sint, et perditionem sibi maximam de indignatione Dei acquirant, qui schisma faciunt, [et relicto episcopo, alium sibi foris pseudo-episcopum constituunt,] declarat in libris Regnorum scriptura divina ubi a tribu Juda et Benjamin decem tribus scissæ sunt, et relicto rege suo alterum sibi foris constituerunt: indignatus est, inquit, Dominus in omni semine Israel.—S. Cypr., Ep. 76. [p. 153.]

Addendo autem, et civitatem Samaritanorum debere omitti, ubi erant schismatici, ostendit schismaticos Gentilibus adæquari.—Ibid., [p. 154.]

[Et quod comminatus per Moysen Dominus fuerat implevit, ut quisquis se a Chore, Dathan et Abiron non separasset, pœnas statim pro impia communione persolveret. Quo] exemplo ostenditur et probatur obnoxios omnes et culpæ et pœnæ futuros, qui se schismaticis contra præpositos et sacerdotes irreligiosa temeritate miscuerint.—Ibid., [p. 155.]

Igitur Deus [pro neglectis mandatis iratus est ira magna. Et] quod in sacrilegos (Cain et Ninive, sc.) et parricidam non fecerat, in schismaticos fecit.—S. Optat., lib. i. [c. 21.]

[m] [De qua re quantum fidei nostræ capacitas et scripturarum divinarum sanctitas ac veritas suggerit, dicimus omnes omnino hæreticos et schismaticos nihil habere potestatis ac juris. Propter quod Novatianus nec debet nec potest excipi quo minus ipse quoque extra ecclesiam consistens et contra pacem ac dilectionem Christi faciens inter adversarios et antichristos computetur. Neque enim dominus noster Jesus Christus cum in evangelio suo testaretur adversarios suos esse eos qui secum non essent, aliquam speciem hæreseos designavit sed omnes omnino qui secum non essent et secum non colligentes gregem suum spargerent adversarios suos esse ostendit dicens: *Qui non est mecum adversum me est et qui mecum non colligit, spargit.* Item beatus Joannes Apostolus nec ipse ullam hæresim aut schisma discrevit aut aliquos speciatim separes posuit, sed universos qui de ecclesia exissent quique contra ecclesiam facerent antichristos appellavit dicens: *Audistis quia antichristus venit, nunc autem antichristi multi facti sunt: unde cognoscimus quia novissima hora est. Ex nobis exierunt sed non fuerunt ex nobis, si enim fuissent ex nobis mansissent utique nobiscum.* Unde] apparet [adversarios Domini et] antichristos omnes esse quos constet a caritate atque unitate ecclesiæ catholicæ recessisse.—S. Cypr., ep. 76. p. 152.

Videndum [est quis in radice cum toto orbe manserit] quis foras exierit, [quis cathedram sederit alteram quæ ante non fuerat,] quis altare contra altare erexerit, [quis ordinationem fecerit salvo altero ordinato,] quis jaceat sub sententia Joannis Apostoli, qui dixit multos antichristos foras exituros [*quia non erant* inquit *nostri: nam si nostri essent mansissent nobiscum.* Ergo qui in uno cum fratribus manere noluit hæreticos secutus quasi antichristus foras exivit.]—S. Optat., lib. i. [c. 15.]

[Hujus generali ecclesiæ communicans Christianus est Catholicus;] ab hac segregatus hæreticus est et Antichristus. Prosperi de Prom. et Prædict. [Dimidium Temporis] cap. 5.

[n] τῷ διαβόλῳ λατρεύει.—S. Ignat. Ep. ad Smyrn., cap. 9.

[o] [An secum esse Christum cum collecti fuerint opinantur qui extra Christi ecclesiam colliguntur.] Tales

CHAP. I

No excuse for it.

7. Much more of this subject is every where to be met with in the ancient monuments, and nothing of alleviation to be had for any, who have not the excuse[p] of involuntary seduction, of error, or simplicity to plead for them, and the surest way to do that effectually, to qualify them for that plea, is to forsake their course, to get out of so dangerous a snare.

8. Nay it is further observable, how unsafe it hath been deemed by these, for light[q] and inconsiderable causes to break this unity, it being in their opinion very hard[r], if not impossible, to receive such an injury or provocation from the governors of the Church, as may make a rupture or separation excusable. And for the universal, or truly Catholic Church of Christ, it is not, in St. Augustine's opinion[s], possible that there should be any just cause for any to separate from it, nor, consequently, apology to be made for those, that on any, whether true or pretended cause whatsoever, have really incurred this guilt.

9. From these premises thus acknowledged and undeniable, the conclusion follows irrefragably, that it is not the examination of the occasion, or cause, or motive of any man's schism, that is worth the producing or heeding in this matter; the one thing that is of force and moment, and, by consequent, pertinent to be enquired into, is the truth of the matter of fact, whether this charge be suffici-

etiamsi occisi in confessione nominis fuerint macula ista nec sanguine abluitur. Inexpiabilis et gravis culpa discordiæ nec passione purgatur. [Esse martyr non potest qui in ecclesia non est. Ad regnum pervenire non poterit qui eam quæ regnatura est derelinquit. Pacem nobis Christus dedit, concordes atque unanimes esse præcepit, dilectionis et caritatis fœdera incorrupta atque inviolata servari mandavit. Exhibere se non potest martyrem qui fraternam non tenuit caritatem.—S.] Cypr. de Unit. Eccl., [p. 199.]

[p] [Si tamen quosdam schismatum duces et dissensionis auctores in cæca et obstinata dementia permanentes non potuerit ad salutis viam consilium salubre revocare,] cæteri tamen vel simplicitate capti vel errore inducti vel aliqua fallentis astutiæ calliditate decepti a fallaciæ vos laqueis solvite, [vagantes gressus ab erroribus liberate, iter rectum viæ cœlestis agnoscite.—S.] Cypr. de Unit. Eccl., [p. 202.]

[q] Judicabit (spiritualis sc.) [autem] et eos qui schismata operantur, [qui sunt inanes, non habentes Dei dilectionem, suamque utilitatem potius considerantes, quam unitatem ecclesiæ; et] propter modicas et quaslibet causas, magnum et gloriosum corpus Christi conscindunt, et dividunt, [et quantum in ipsis est, interficiunt, pacem loquentes, et bellum operantes;] vere liquantes culicem, et camelum transglutientes.—S. Iren., lib. iv. c. 62.

[r] Nulla [enim] ab eis tanta potest fieri correptio, quanta est schismatis pernicies.—Ibid. [See also note k, p. 198.]

[s] Si possunt aliqui, quod fieri non potest, habere causam justam quo communionem separent a communione orbis terrarum.—S. Aug., Ep. 48. [al. 93. cap. 8. ad Vincent., tom. ii. p. 241.]

ently proved or confessed, i. e. whether he that is thus accused stands really guilty of separation from the Church of Christ. And this will be a means of shortening our method, and giving very moderate bounds to our ensuing discourse, which will now be regularly finished by making these two enquiries.

The parts of the ensuing tract.

10. 1. What schism is, and how it may be most fitly branched.

11. 2. What evidences are producible against the Church of England, whereby it may be thought liable to this guilt, and withal how it may be cleared from all force of those evidences.

12. Which when we have done, we shall not from the office of advocates proceed to that of the accuser or judge, but leave all others that are under the same charge to their proper tribunal, to stand or fall, as they shall appear able or not able, upon firm grounds, to maintain and vindicate their innocence.

CHAP. II.

WHAT SCHISM IS, TOGETHER WITH SOME GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS THEREON.

1. Our first enquiry must be what schism is, in the strict and proper notion, as distinguished from heresy[t], the introducing of some false doctrine into the Church. And herein there will be no difficulty, the origination and universal use of the word, according and consenting exactly, to give us the importance of it.

The original of the word schism.

2. In the origination of it from *σχίζεσθαι, scindi,* it signifies literally 'scissure,' or 'division,' which being a figurative, and withal a relative word, referring to some body, which is thus cut or divided, but that no natural but political body, the Church, or congregation of Christians,

[t] Non attendisti inter schismaticos et hæreticos quam sit magna distantia. —S. Optat., lib. i. [c. 10.]

Inter hæresim et schisma hoc interesse arbitrantur, quod hæresis perversum dogma habeat, schisma propter episcopalem dissensionem ab ecclesia separetur.—S. Hieron. ad Tit., c. 3. [tom. iv. p. 439.]

CHAP. II.

the literal notation of the word in the ecclesiastical use, will be τῆς ἑνότητος διαίρεσις, 'a division in' or 'from the unity of the Church of Christ.' Only the form and termination of the word must be further noted, which being not σχίσις from the active σχίζω, but σχίσμα from the passive σχίζομαι, the use of such passives is observable, being of the nature,—and for want of conjugations, designed to supply the place,—

Reciprocal passion noted by the word.

of the Hebrew *hithpahel*, and so noting reciprocal action or passion, where the passion is from, and on himself, and is most fully expressed by the Latin neutrals, which partake both of active and passive, but are strictly neither of them. This might be largely exemplified in the use of other words, but the advantage of the observation will not be proportionable to the length of such a diversion, being no more

Schism a voluntary recession.

than this, that the distinct notion of the word 'schism' is a voluntary dividing, or, in the neutral expression, which the fathers familiarly use, a separating or receding of any member from the unity of the body, i. e. the Church of Christ, and so that the schismatic is he that divides himself from the Church of God[u], not that is cut off or separated, he that goes out[x], or withdraws[y], or recedes of his own accord,

Excommunication no schism.

not he that is cast out by the governors of the Church. For whatever blame and vengeance may justly light on such, who are by the righteous and charitative censures of the Church cut off from communion, in case they do not by humiliation, confession, and reformation, and meet fruits of repentance, prepare and qualify themselves for re-admission to that communion, yet certainly this punishment of excommunication is very disparate and distant from the crime of schism, the judge, i. e. bishop or governor of the Church, being the only actor in the one,—and that *ex officio*, an act of duty in him, when duly executed,—but in the other, the offender, or guilty person, who is therefore said to accuse[z], to cast, to condemn himself[a], throwing himself, by his volun-

[u] ἀποδιορίζοντες ἑαυτούς. Jude 19.
[x] ἐξ ἡμῶν ἐξῆλθον. 1 John ii. 19.
[y] ἐὰν ὑποστείληται. Heb. x. 38.
[z] ἑαυτὸν αἰτιάσεται.—Concil. Laod. [(A.D. 364.)] Can. 40. [ap. Balsamon., p. 843.]
[a] [Propterea vero a semetipso dicitur esse damnatus quia fornicator, adulter, homicida, et cætera vitia per sacerdotes de ecclesia propelluntur. Hæretici autem in semetipsos sententiam ferunt, suo arbitrio de ecclesia recedentes, quæ recessio] propriæ conscientiæ videtur esse damnatio. [Inter hæresim et schisma hoc interesse arbitrantur, quod hæresis perversum dogma habeat, schis-

tary recession from the Church, into that very condition into which the adulterer and obstinate offender is cast by the censures of it.

3. This is so evident a truth, that this punishment, and so judicial act, of the governor, cannot be the guilt of him that is punished, and though it be supposed to be founded in some offence, is not yet in any propriety of speech the offence itself, much less the sin of schism, especially when he is punished for heresy, or some other crime, and not for schism, that I need not further insist on it. Only, as beside the formal *καθαίρεσις*, there is also an interpretative excommunication, when he that is not under the censures of the Church is yet refused admission or reception unto it, unless he will submit to such and such conditions, indispensably proposed to him, and because both in the one and the other, in the formal and in the interpretative excommunication, the governors, being men, may possibly err, and consequently censure and excommunicate the innocent, and in like manner propose those conditions of communion which are not lawful for that man to submit unto, so it is possible in both cases, that the person excluded may be absolutely innocent, free not only from that of schism, but from all other guilt, so that he which is excommunicated may not be obliged to regain the peace, nor he that is barred out to force his passage into the communion of the Church, and so both sorts of these, continuing out of the actual communion, neither the one nor the other be guilty of schism in the least degree by so continuing.

Interpretative excommunication.

Continuance out of actual communion without schism.

4. He that is excommunicated unjustly, cannot be rendered criminous by that misfortune, nor concluded culpable by that argument, upon which he is supposed innocent. Our Saviour hath pronounced of the anathemas of the Jews, of their bitterest execrations, their *πᾶν πονηρὸν ῥῆμα*, their 'sharpest censures,' nay the *ἀποσυναγωγία*, 'casting men out of the synagogue falsely' or 'unjustly,' that it is to be

Unjust excommunication hurts no man.

[Matt. v. 11.] [John xvi. 2.]

ma propter episcopalem dissensionem ab ecclesia separetur: quod quidem in principio aliqua ex parte intelligi potest. Cæterum nullum schisma non sibi aliquam confingit hæresim, ut recte ab Ecclesia recessisse videatur.—S. Hieron. ad Tit., c. 3. tom. iv. p. 439.]

αὐτὸς καθ' ἑαυτοῦ τῆς καταδίκης [τὴν] ψῆφον ἐξενηνοχέναι κριθῇ.—Codex Canonum Eccles. Afric. Can. 29. [Labbei Conc., tom. ii. p. 1064.]

CHAP. II.

looked on as a most auspicious token, a matter of the greatest rejoicing to them which fell under it, one of the principal ingredients in, and forerunners of their bliss; and accordingly the Apostles, when they were thus cast out, and contumeliously used, "went out of the temple rejoicing that they were thought worthy to suffer shame for Christ's name." To which purpose is that of Photius, patriarch of Constantinople, to Michael, metropolitan of Mitylene, Ep. 116: ὥσπερ τοὺς τοῦ δεσπότου μαθητὰς τὸ μισόχριστον τῶν Ἰουδαίων συνέδριον ἀποσυναγωγοὺς ποιήσαντες, ἐκείνους μὲν μᾶλλον τῷ διδασκάλῳ καὶ δεσπότῃ προσωκείωσαν, ἑαυτοὺς δὲ τέλεον [καὶ] τῆς θείας μυσταγωγίας καὶ τῆς οὐρανῶν βασιλείας ἠλλοτρίωσαν, οὕτω καὶ νῦν [οἱ τῶν Ἰουδαίων μιμηταὶ τοὺς τῶν ἀποστόλων ζηλωτὰς ἀποσυναγωγοὺς ποιήσαντες, ἡμᾶς μὲν τοῖς θεσπεσίοις ἐκείνοις καὶ αὐτόπταις τοῦ λόγου, συνῆψάν τε μᾶλλον καὶ συνήνωσαν· ἡ γὰρ κοινωνία τῶν παθῶν ἀκριβεστέραν ποιεῖται τὴν ἐν βίῳ καὶ πίστει συνάφειαν:] "The excommunication of the Jewish Sanhedrim sent out against Christ's disciples brought them so much nearer to their Lord and Master, and aliened the Jews themselves, removed them so much further from the kingdom of heaven, and so doth all unjust excommunication now unite us to the Apostles by this conformity with and participation of their sufferings." And I suppose the arguments and testimonies produced by the chancellor of Paris[b] are, and, when they were first published, were so deemed by those of the Romish communion, unanswerable to this matter; and accordingly that of Thomas de Curselis in the council of Basle, that it "was said by Christ to the pope[c], 'whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound,' not 'whatsoever thou shalt affirm to be bound,'" hath with it the evidence of undeniable truth, equally applicable to him and all bishops in that and in all future ages.

[Acts v. 41.]

Which holds in the interpretative excommunication.

5. And then certainly what hath thus been said of the formal, will with the same evidence be extended also to the interpretative excommunication, whensoever the conditions of the communion contain in them any sin and so become

[b] [Vide Gersonii Opera, tom. ii. ed. fol. Antw. 1706.]

[c] [Sibi (sc.] Papæ) a Christo dictum, quicquid ligaveris super terram, erit ligatum, non [autem] quicquid dixeris esse ligatum.—Jacob. Angularis in Ep. ad Wesselum ap. Goldast., tom. i. p. 575. [ed. Hanov. fol. 1612.

as the former censures were supposed to be; for in that case certainly it is no act of schism from any Church, for any member to be, or to continue thus excluded from it. For how desirable and valuable soever an entire, inviolate peace with all Christians, with all men,—together with the approbation of our willing, cheerful obedience, and submission of our judgments and practices to our superiors,—must for ever be deemed by all true disciples of Christ, yet must not the purchase of this treasure be attempted by the admission of any sin, any more than the glory of God might be projected by the Apostle's lie. The least transgression of God's law must not be adventured on upon any the most Christian design or consideration; the peaceable living with all men, which is so often exhorted to and inculcated, is yet no further recommended than εἰ δυνατὸν and ὅσον ἐφ' ἡμῖν, "if it be possible," and "as much as in us lies," and that, we know, must be interpreted of a moral and legal possibility, by which we are pronounced able to do that, and no more, which we can do lawfully: and so when the Apostle exhorts to the most earnest pursuit of this blissful state, this ease, and rest, and quiet from the labours, and toils, and hell of the factious, turbulent spirit, it is in a style which supposes this reserve, we must, saith he, φιλοτιμεῖσθαι ἡσυχάζειν, have an ambition and emulation and contention to live peaceably, and quietly, obliging us to use all means that would be allowed to the ambitious person in his warmest pursuit, i. e. the utmost lawful, but not the lowest unlawful means.

[Rom. iii. 7.]

[1Thess.iv. 11.]

[1 Thess. iv. 11.]

6. In which matter it is remarkable what course hath been taken by the late author of Infidelity Unmasked[d], in his

Mr. Knot's concession in this

[d] [Edward Knot was a Jesuit who wrote also under the name of Nicolas Smith, and whose real name was Matthias Wilson. The book referred to was published at Ghent, 4to. 1652, and was entitled "Infidelity Unmasked, or the confutation of a book published by Mr. William Chillingworth, under this title, 'The Religion of Protestants a safe way to Salvation.'" The running title of the seventh chapter is "Protestants guilty of Schism." The beginning of this controversy was in 1630, when an anonymous author published a treatise entitled "Charity Mistaken, with the want whereof Catholics are unjustly charged for affirming as they do with grief that Protestancy unrepented destroys salvation." This book, which has been ascribed to Knot, but which he appears to disclaim when he calls it a little elegant and pithy treatise, was attacked by Christopher Potter, Provost of Queen's College, Oxford, in his "Want of Charity justly charged on all such Romanists as dare (without truth or modesty) affirme that Protestancy destroyeth Salvation, in answer to a late Popish pamphlet intituled 'Charity Mis-

CHAP. II.

matter c. 7. pp. 471, 472.

discourse of the Schism of Protestants, where having acknowledged how perfectly unlawful it is to dissemble, equivocate, or lie in the matters of faith, and withal urging from all antiquity, that to forsake the external communion of God's visible Church is the sin of schism, he makes a shift to conclude, as a natural consequence, from hence, that therefore the Church,—I suppose he means of Rome,—is infallible, and not subject to error, because otherwise men might forsake her communion; where though the consequence be very strange, that we may forsake the Church's communion, in case she be fallible or subject to error,—for this supposes it lawful, 1. to forsake the communion of any erroneous

taken,' &c." Potter does not appear to have known who his antagonist was, but professes to have followed him through his discourse, and to have answered every thing of moment in it. This volume was published in 1633, in 12mo., at Oxford. Knot replied in the following year with another volume, entitled "Mercy and Truth, or Charity maintained by Catholics. By way of reply upon an answer lately framed by Dr. Potter to a treatise that had formerly proved that Charity was mistaken by Protestants: with the want whereof Catholics are unjustly charged for affirming, that Protestancy unrepented destroys salvation. Divided into two parts." Chillingworth's celebrated work was in reply to this volume. The author, after undertaking to reply to it, spent most of his time with Lord Falkland at Great Tew, and as Barlow informs us, he was indebted to Falkland not only for books to refer to, but even for passages which his lordship pointed out to him. Meanwhile Knot, who had become aware that Chillingworth was preparing a reply to his book, printed in 1636, in 8vo., pp. 42, *permissu superiorum*, "A direction to be observed by N. N. if he mean to proceed in answering the book entitled Mercy and Truth, or Charity maintained by Catholics," &c. This volume is exceedingly scarce, and the author of the life of Chillingworth says he had never seen more than one copy of it, which is in the Ashmolean Library at Oxford. Chillingworth's reply was submitted to Drs. Prideaux, afterwards bishop of Worcester, Baylie, then Vice-Chancellor, and Fell, Dean of Christ Church, at the desire of Archbishop Laud, who says that he is "very sorry that the young man hath given cause why a more watchful eye should be held over him and his writings." It appears that Knot was in Oxford at the time, and procured the sheets from the University press as soon as they were struck off, till Laud discovered and prevented this, and the volume appeared in the latter end of 1637, but with the date 1638 in the title-page, with the title "The religion of Protestants a safe way to Salvation: or an answer to a book entitled Mercy and Truth, or Charity maintained by Catholics, which pretends to prove the contrary. By William Chillingworth, M.A. of the University of Oxford." Mr. Knot's next publication was entitled "Christianity maintained, or a discovery of sundry doctrines tending to the overthrow of the Christian Religion, contained in the Answer to a book entitled Mercy and Truth, or Charity maintained by Catholics." This was published in 4to. at St. Omer's, 1638, and subjoined to it was a short piece in three sheets, called "Motives maintained, or a reply to Mr. Chillingworth's answer to his own motives of his conversion to the Catholic Religion." The controversy was carried on by other authors, but Knot does not seem to have published any thing further till 1652, when his "Infidelity Unmasked, being an answer to Mr. Chillingworth's book, Protestant Religion a safe way," &c., appeared in a thick 4to. volume at Ghent.

The substance of this note is taken from Des Maizeaux's Life of Chillingworth; Dodd's Church History; Barlow's Remains; and the preface to Smith's translation of Daillé's Apology.]

Church, which is much more than we would desire to be granted us; and 2. to forsake all that are fallible, though they be not actually in error, which is in effect to forsake the communion of all but saints, and angels, and God in heaven, for they only have the privilege of impeccable and infallible,—yet it absolutely acknowledges that it would be lawful to separate from, and forsake the even universal Church of Christ, in case, or on supposition that we could not be permitted to communicate with it, without lying, and dissembling, and equivocating in matters of faith, which he there acknowledges to be the denying God on earth.

Severe conditions of some Churches' communion.

7. Now to return to our present consideration, of this there is no question, but that, as it is said to be customary among the kings of the Huns, as soon as they have any children, and so no need of their brethren's assistance, to banish all their brethren out of their dominions, and not to admit them again without putting out their eyes, (*οὐκέτι ἄλλως τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας ξυγχωρεῖν αὐτοῖς διατριβήν, ἀλλ' ἢ τὰς ὄψεις ἐκκεντηθεῖσιν*, saith Cinnamus, Hist. lib. i. [p. 8,]) so it is possible, (I wish it were not justly supposable,) for a particular Church so to fence and limit, to guard and restrain their communion, to require such severe conditions of all whom they will admit or tolerate within their Church, that some men cannot without putting out their eyes, or wilful acknowledgment of untruths, others without committing sin against conscience, undergo the conditions thus required, nor consequently be admitted to communion with it.

Make communion with them impossible. Such are prescribing subscription of errors.

As in case any unsound or untrue position be entered into the confession or catechism of any Church, and all the members of that communion be explicitly required to believe and acknowledge the truth of every branch of that confession, and so that confession be really the condition, and accordingly in the reputation of men esteemed the *tessera* or 'symbol' of that communion, then he that shall enter this communion thus conditionated, must certainly either actually subscribe, or, which, as to the scandal of the action, is equivalent, be reasonably supposed to acknowledge that untruth; and if in some persons blameless ignorance may be supposed sufficient for the excusing or alleviating that fault, yet, 1. he that hath means of discovering that un-

CHAP. II.

truth, and criminously neglects to make use of those means, and 2. he that hath discovered the truth, and yet thus professeth himself to believe the contrary, will not be thus excusable. And it is not here sufficient to object the supposable levity of the error, or intellectual falsity; for how light, and inconsiderable, and extrinsical to the foundation soever the error be supposed to be, yet if there be obstinacy in continuing in it against light and conviction, or if there be falseness in professing or subscribing contrary to present persuasions, or scandal and ill example, temptation and snare to others, in seeming to do so; these certainly are sins, and neither light nor inconsiderable, nor reconcilable with that fabric of Christian practice which ought to be superstructed on that foundation.

Or profession against conscience.

8. Nay, if the errors be really on the other side, if the doctrines so proposed, as the condition of the communion of any Church, be indeed agreeable to truth, but yet be really apprehended by him to whom they are thus proposed to be false and disagreeable, it will even in that case be hard to affirm that that man may lawfully thus subscribe, contrary to his present persuasions; for though it be certain, that he that thus errs be obliged to use all probable means to reform and deposit his error, and, as long as he remains in it, is so far guilty of sin, as he wants the excuse of invincible ignorance, and being obliged to charity and peace, as far as it is possible and in him lies, he cannot be freed from offending against that obligation, if he do not communicate with those, the condition of whose communion contains nothing really erroneous or sinful; and so though such a man, on that side, be, or may be in several respects criminous, yet it is as evident on the other side, that he that professes to believe what he really doth not believe, that subscribes with his hand what he rejects in his heart, or that doth that which is under the scandal of doing so, is far from being guiltless; he certainly offends against the precept of sincerity and veracity,—yea and of charity to his brethren in respect of the scandal,—hath added hypocrisy to his error, and so which way soever he turns, he is sure to sin, (the worst and most unhappy kind of strait,) he remains in error and schism on the one side, and by flying from that he advances to lying

and hypocrisy on the other, and the desire of avoiding one of these cannot justify the other.

9. This I say, in case the error be really on the man's, not on the Church's side; but if, as in the case proposed, the errors be supposed to be wholly on the Church's side, and withal indispensably required to be subscribed by all, and so the conditions of that communion being exacted of him, who cannot without sin undertake them, be to him really and inexcusably unlawful, then certainly to that man in that case it is no crime not to communicate, when he is thus excluded from communicating, with that Church, but a crime, and a great one, thus, by testifying against the truth and his own conscience, to qualify himself for that communion. The admission of such guilts as these, hypocrisy, and lying against conscience and due grounds of conviction, is too high a price to be paid even for peace or communion itself.

10. A meek son of the Church of Christ will certainly be content to sacrifice a great deal for the making of this purchase, and when the fundamentals of the faith and superstructures of Christian practice are not concerned in the concessions, he will cheerfully express his readiness to submit or deposit his own judgment in reverence and deference to his superiors in the Church where his lot is fallen. But when this proves insufficient, when peace with the brethren on earth will not be had at a cheaper rate than this of a voluntary offending against our Father which is in heaven; in this case the Christian must be content to live without it, and though he would rejoice to sell all that he hath to purchase that jewel, yet his conscience, the health and peace of that, which is interrupted by every wilful sin, is a commodity that must not be parted with, whatsoever the acquisition be, which is in his view, and thus offers itself in exchange for it.

Application to the Church of Rome, in relation to the present Church of England.

11. The evidence of which is, I conceive, so demonstrative and irresistible, that it will be justly extended much further than the present case of the Church of England gives me any temptation to extend it; for in case our ancestors had unjustly and criminously made a separation from the Church of Rome, which it shall anon appear that they have not,

CHAP. II.

and we their successors in that schism should unfeignedly confess, and repent, and desire to reform that sin, and uprightly discharge our conscience in neglecting no means that patience, humility, charity could suggest to us in order to obtaining our reconciliation, yet if that cannot be obtained by all these submissions without that harder condition of renouncing, or professing, or seeming, in common reputation of men, to renounce any part of divine truth or Christian practice, which we verily believe to be the truth and our duty, it would not be our guilt, but only our unhappiness, that we were thus forced to continue in that separation. The reason is evident from the former grounds. We must not sin, that we may give glory to God, (such is confession and fruits of repentance;) a penitent thief must not lie to enable himself to make restitution, nor the contrite schismatic commit any new sin, (such certainly is hypocrisy, lying, professing contrary to present persuasion,) to complete his repentance for the old.

Josh. vii. 19.

12. If this last be conceived, as it is not the present case of the Church of England, so to be an impossible, unsupposable case, not only upon the Romanists' grounds, who I presume will not acknowledge any such hard condition, as is the profession of an untruth, to be required to any man's reconciliation and readmission to their communion, but upon this other score, because if any false profession be now required to our readmission, the same was formerly required to our continuance in their communion, and consequently our ancestors' departure then could not be supposed, as in this last fiction of case it is, a schismatical departure: I shall not need to give any more distinct answer to this, than 1. that we that acknowledge not the Church of Rome to be infallible, may be allowed to make a supposition, which is founded in the possibility of her inserting some error in her confessions, and making the explicit acknowledgment of that the peremptory indispensable condition of her communion; 2. that it is possible also, though not by us pretended, that she should since that supposed departure of our ancestors, introduce some new doctrines, and consequently some new errors, and those now be supposable to lie in the way to our return, though they had no part, before their

birth, in driving us from them; 3. that that may be by the Church of Rome permitted, and allowed to those that have always remained in their communion, which to them that have departed, and either in their persons or posterity desire to return to it, will not be permitted by them; it being more ordinary to indulge liberties to sons that have always continued in the family, than to grant them to offenders and suppliants, that expect favours, and graces, and restoration to privileges; 4. that those which have had their education out of the communion of the Church of Rome, may very possibly and probably come to discern that, which in that communion would never have been, for want of representation, discerned by them, and consequently may observe some errors in her doctrine or practice, which their ancestors at their very departure from them had not discerned, and then though those errors subscribed to by them, had the lenitive, or antidote of blameless ignorance, yet because those that now really discern that truth which their ancestors discerned not, cannot lawfully profess not to discern it, or profess against conscience to believe what they do not believe, it is therefore necessarily consequent, that the return of such to the peace of the Roman Church may by this means be rendered impossible, though their ancestors' continuance there lying under no such prejudice, their separation were acknowledged unlawful.

CHAP. III.

THE SEVERAL SORTS OF SCHISM.

1. Thus much hath been necessarily premised for the true notion of schism, taken from the origination of the word, as that includes, in the neuter sense, a recession or departure, in the reciprocal, a separating or dividing himself.

2. It is now time to proceed and enquire how many sorts there are of this schism in the ecclesiastical sense, or by how many ways the guilt of this sin of the flesh may be contracted.

3. In which enquiry it will be first necessary to consider,

CHAP. III.

Unity ecclesiastical wherein it consists.

wherein ecclesiastical unity consists, viz., in the preserving all those relations wherein each member of the whole Church of Christ is concerned one towards another. These relations are either of subordination, paternal on one side, and filial on the other, or of equality, fraternal. The unity of those members that are subordinate one to the other, consists in the constant due subjection and obedience of all inferiors to all their lawful superiors, and in due exercise of authority in the superiors toward all committed to their charge: and the unity of the fellow-brethren, in the performance of all mutual duties of justice and charity toward one another.

Unity of members subordinate.

Of fellow brethren.

The former. Heb. xiii. 17. 1 Pet. v. 2.

4. Of the former sort is the *πείθεσθε ἡγουμένοις*, 'obedience to the rulers of the Church,' and back again the *ποιμάνατε*, due 'feeding,' i. e. 'governing the flock of God' among them; and because there be under the king, or emperor, or supreme power, to whom all are subject in any his dominions, many possible links in that subordination, patriarchs, metropolitans, bishops, presbyters, deacons, and the brethren, or congregation, the unity must be made up of the due subordination, and Christian, i. e. charitative exercise of power in all these.

The latter. 1 Pet. v. 5.

5. Of the latter sort there are as many branches as there are varieties of equalities. The brethren or believers in every congregation, i. e. all beside the governors of the Church, however unequal in other respects, are in this respect equalized, and comprehended all under the one title of *νεώτεροι*, the 'younger;' and this whether we respect all other fellow-members of the same, or whether of any other congregation, whether parish or city, or diocese, or province, or nation, of the west, of the east, of the whole Christian world, as far as each member is qualified to exercise any fraternal duty toward them. So again the several deacons or presbyters of any diocese, the several bishops of any province, the several metropolitans of any nation, the several primates or patriarchs one with another, as the several Apostles, over the whole world, are each of them to be looked on as equals to all others of the same sort; and proportionably, and together with the pastors, the flocks, the several communities, or congregations of Christian men considered *in complexo*, the

parishes, dioceses, provinces, nations, climes of the whole Christian world. And according to these so many equalities, there are, or ought to be so many sorts of unities, so many relations of that mutual fraternal charity, which Christ came to plant in His Church.

Communion.

6. Having seen what the unity is, to which communion superadds no more but the relation of external association, whether by assembling for the worship of God in the same place, where the matter is capable of it, or whether by letters communicatory, by which we may maintain external communion with those which are most distant from us, it will be easy to discern what schism is, viz., the breach of that unity, and communion, and what be the sorts or species of it, either those that offend against the subordination which Christ hath by Himself and His Apostles settled in His Church, or those that offend against the mutual charity which He left among His disciples.

The branches of schism as it is an offence against subordination.

7. For the first of these, those that offend against the due subordination, they are possibly of as many sorts as there be distinct links in the subordination. As first those brethren or people which reject the ministry of the deacons or presbyters in any thing wherein they are ordained and appointed by the bishop,—and as long as they continue in obedience to him,—and of their own accord break off, and separate from them, refuse to live regularly under them, they are by the ancient Church of Christ adjudged and looked on as schismatics. So Ignatius the holy bishop, and apostolical person, and martyr of Antioch, in *Ep. ad Trall.* [c. 7.] admonishing them to beware of the poison of seducers, i.e. the schismatics of those times, he directs them this one way to do it, *τοῦτο ἔσται ὑμῖν μὴ φυσιουμένοις, καὶ οὖσιν ἀχωρίστοις Θεοῦ, Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου . . . . ὁ ἔντος θυσιαστηρίου ὢν καθαρός ἐστιν, τοῦτ' ἔστιν, ὁ χωρὶς ἐπισκόπου καὶ πρεσβυτερίου καὶ διακόνου πράσσων τι, οὗτος οὐ καθαρός ἐστιν τῇ συνειδήσει*, "this ye shall do," saith he, "if ye be not puffed up, and if ye be not separated from God, from Christ, from the bishop. . . . He that continues within the sept is pure, he that doth aught without the bishop and presbytery and deacon, is not of a pure conscience," accounting all that live out of this obedience to be so far

Schism against the deacons or presbyters.

CHAP. III.

infected and defiled with schism. So again in the former part of the same Epistle, [c. 3,] *πάντες ἐντρεπέσθωσαν τοὺς διακόνους ὡς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὡς καὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ὡς Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ὄντα υἱὸν τοῦ πατρὸς, τοὺς δὲ πρεσβυτέρους ὡς συνέδριον Θεοῦ, καὶ ὡς συνδεσμὸν Ἀποστόλων· χωρὶς τούτων ἐκκλησία οὐ καλεῖται,* "let all revere the deacons as the ministers of Jesus Christ, and in like manner the bishop as Jesus Christ the Son of the Father, the presbyters as the senate of God and college of Apostles, without these it is not called a Church." Where every particular Church being administered by these, no man is further deemed a member of the Church, than he lives regularly within this obedience. And the same is the importance of his exhortation to the Philadelphians, [c. 7,] *τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ προσέχετε, καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ, καὶ διακόνοις,* "observe the bishop, and the presbyters, and the deacons," intimating this to be the only way of preserving unity against schism, as appears by that which had gone before, [c. 4,] *ἓν θυσιαστήριον, ὡς εἷς ἐπίσκοπος, ἅμα τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ, καὶ διακόνοις . . . ἵνα ὃ ἐὰν πράσσητε κατὰ Θεὸν πράσσητε,* "there is one altar," or sept, "as there is one bishop, together with his presbyters and deacons, and the living in union with, obedience to those, is the only way to do, whatsoever ye do, according to the will of God." Where this subordination being looked on as that which is placed in the Church by God, it is both schism and impiety not to continue regularly under it; and so in the inscription of that epistle, *ἣν ἀσπάζομαι ἐν αἵματι [Ἰησοῦ] Χριστοῦ . . . . μάλιστα ἐὰν ἐν ἑνὶ ὦσιν, σὺν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ πρεσβυτέροις καὶ διακόνοις ἀποδεδειγμένοις ἐν γνώμῃ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,* "He salutes them in the blood of Christ, especially if they be at one with their bishop, and the presbyters with him, as also the deacons designed by the appointment of Jesus Christ," looking upon all as schismatics that were not so. Thus again in his epistle to the Ephesians [c. 20] he admonisheth them to "obey the bishop and presbyters," *ἀπερισπάστῳ διανοίᾳ,* "with an undivided mind," making the disobedience an act of schism or division in any; and so generally throughout all those epistles.

8. In like manner, if we ascend to the next higher link,

that of the bishop to whom both presbyters and deacons, as well as the brethren or people, are obliged to live in obedience, the withdrawing or denying this obedience in any of these will certainly fall under this guilt. So the same holy Ignatius in *Ep. ad Smyrn.*, [c. 8,] *μηδεὶς χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τὶ πρασσέτω τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς* [*τὴν*] *ἐκκλησίαν*, "let no man without the bishop do any of those things which belong to the Church;" *ὅπου ἂν φανῇ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ἐκεῖ τὸ πλῆθος ἔστω*, "wherever the bishop appears, there let the multitude be;" *ὁ λάθρα ἐπισκόπου τι πράσσων, τῷ διαβόλῳ λατρεύει*, [c. 9,] "he that doth any thing without the privity of the bishop serves the devil;" the title by which those foul Gnostic heretics and schismatics, the *κατατομὴ*, the 'troublers' and 'dividers' of the Church, were signified. So in the process of that epistle[e], having mentioned obedience to their bishop, as a necessary requisite to their sanctification, supposing the contrary to be an act of pollution, i. e. of the poison of the schismatics, and again admonishing them as of their duty, *πρέπει ὑμῖν συντρέχειν τοῦ ἐπισκόπου γνώμῃ*, to "concur with the sentence of their bishop," he adds, "that he that doth not" so, expressed by not being within the altar or sept, *ὑστερεῖται τοῦ ἄρτου τοῦ Θεοῦ*, "falls short of the bread of God," is an "excommunicate person," being rendered such by this act of division from the bishop. So in the epistle to the Magnesians, [c. 4,] speaking of those that act without the bishop, *χωρὶς* [*δὲ*] *αὐτοῦ πάντα πράσσουσιν, οἱ τοιοῦτοι* [*δὲ*,] saith he, *οὐκ εὐσυνείδητοί μοι εἶναι φαίνονται, διὰ τὸ μὴ βεβαίως κατ' ἐντολὴν συναθροίζεσθαι*, "these seem not" to him "to be men of a good conscience," (the phrase by which he oft expresses schismatics, whose mind and conscience was defiled by the poison of the Gnostics at that time,) "because they assembled not according to that order and establishment which was settled in the Church." And again, [c. 7,] "as Christ did nothing without His Father," *ἡνωμένος ὢν*, "being united to Him, or all one with His Father," *οὕτως μηδὲ ὑμεῖς ἄνευ* [*τοῦ*] *ἐπισκόπου*, "so neither must ye do any thing without the bishop," *ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ μία προσευχὴ*, "but assemble together and have but

Against the bishop.

Phil. iii. 2.

[e] [The two passages here referred to are in the Epistle to the Ephesians, chap. iv. and v.]

CHAP. III.

one prayer common to you all," where the living out of this regular obedience to the bishop, is the contrary to union and communion, and so is formally schism. And to the Philadelphians, [c. 3,] ὅσοι Θεοῦ εἰσιν καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὗτοι μετὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰσὶν, "as many as are God's and Christ's, are with the bishop," excluding them from the unity of Christ's body who are thus separated from the bishop; and in the same epistle speaking of the repentance of schismatics and heretics, and God's pardon offered to such, the condition of that pardon, and κριτήριον of the sincerity of that repentance, is, [c. 8,] ἐὰν μετανοήσωσιν εἰς ἑνότητα Θεοῦ καὶ συνέδριον τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, "if they return to the unity of God and senate of the bishop[f]." So frequently in St. Cyprian, the schism especially of the five presbyters of Felicissimus' faction, Ep. xl., appears to consist in their disobedience to, and breaking off from their proper bishop[g], and causing others to do so; and *De Unit. Eccl.* [p. 200,] the schismatic is described to be *filius impius qui contemptis episcopis et Dei sacerdotibus derelictis, constituere audet aliud altare,* "an impious son, which having contemned the bishops, and," which is all one, "forsaken the priests of God, dares constitute another altar;" and Ep. lxxvi. [p. 153,] *qui schisma faciunt et relicto episcopo alium sibi foris pseudo-episcopum constituunt,* "the schismatics are they that having left their bishop set up for themselves abroad another false bishop," and all their adherents are involved in the same

[f] [πᾶσιν οὖν μετανοοῦσιν ἀφίει ὁ κύριος, ἐὰν μετανοήσωσιν εἰς ἑνότητα Θεοῦ καὶ συνέδριον τοῦ ἐπισκόπου.—S. Ignat. ad Philadelph., cap. 8.]

[g] [Hoc enim quorundam presbyterorum malignitas et perfidia perfecit, ne ad vos ante diem Paschæ venire licuisset, dum conjurationis suæ memores et antiqua illa] contra episcopatum meum, [immo contra suffragium vestrum et Dei judicium venena retinentes, instaurant veterem contra nos impugnationem suam, et sacrilegas machinationes insidiis solitis denuo renovant.—S. Cypr., Ep. xl. p. 52.]

Hi [fomenta olim quibusdam confessoribus et hortamenta] tribuebant, ne concordarent cum episcopo [suo, ne ecclesiasticam disciplinam cum fide et quiete, juxta præcepta dominica continerent, ne confessionis suæ gloriam incorrupta et immaculata conversatione servarent. Ac ne parum fuisset corrupisse quorundam confessorum mentes, et] contra sacerdotium Dei portionem ruptæ fraternitatis armare voluisse, [nunc se ad lapsorum perniciem venenata sua deceptione verterunt, ut ægros et saucios et ad capienda fortiora consilia per calamitatem ruinæ suæ minus idoneos et minus solidos a medela vulneris sui avocent, et intermissis precibus et orationibus quibus Dominus longa et continua satisfactione placandus est, ad exitiosam temeritatem mendacio captiosæ pacis invitent.—Ibid.]

And so Optatus of Parmenian the Donatist, &c. Quia collegium episcopale nolunt nobiscum habere commune, non sint collegæ si nolunt.—lib. i. [cap. 4.]

guilt, *qui se schismaticis contra præpositos et sacerdotes irreligiosa temeritate miscuerunt,* "who join with the schismatics against their bishops;" and Ep. lxv. [p. 113,] *hi sunt conatus schismaticorum . . . . ut sibi placeant, ut præpositum superbo tumore contemnant,* "these are the endeavours of schismatics, that they may please themselves, and proudly contemn their bishop;" and Ep. lxix. [p. 123,] *unum scire debes . . . si quis cum episcopo non sit, in ecclesia non esse,* "one thing you are to know, that he that is not with the bishop, is not in the Church," the Church being there by him defined *plebs sacerdoti adunata et pastori suo grex adhærens,* "the people united to the bishop, and the flock to their pastor." CHAP. III.

9. And as this disobedience may be of two sorts, either of a lower or of a higher kind, the denying obedience in any particular lawful command of the superior, or the casting off all obedience together, dethroning them or setting up ourselves either in their steads, or in opposition to them,—the first parallel to the contumacy of the Levites, the sons of Eliab, which said, "We will not come up;" the second, to their rebellion, levelling and equalling themselves to Moses and Aaron; and both together subjecting them first to that curse, of God's not accepting their sacrifice, and then to that sudden exemplary destruction,—so will the schism be also a lighter and a grosser separation, a defection from the bishop, and a rebellion against him, the former ordinarily called *σχίσμα,* 'schism,' the latter *στάσις,* 'sedition,' the latter adding very much to the guilt of the former, and incapable of the alleviating excuses of ignorance or mistake, in thinking the commands unlawful, and consequently the obedience, which may be pretended in the former. This of a lighter and a grosser sort. Numb. xvi. 12, 14. ver. 3. ver. 15. ver. 31.

10. From this of bishops we may further ascend to the higher dignity and authority of metropolitans over bishops themselves, which, what it is, will be fit to be examined a while. Against the metropolitan.

11. And the first rise may be taken from Scripture itself, where the commission which is given to Titus by St. Paul, to "ordain elders," that is bishops, "in every city" of Crete, demonstrates him to have had metropolitical authority bestowed on him; so saith St. Chrysostom, Hom. i. on Tit. i. [1], of Titus, *εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἦν δόκιμος, οὐκ ἂν αὐτῷ τὴν νῆσον ὁλό-* The original of metropolitans. In Titus. Tit. i. 5. ver. 7.

CHAP. III.

κληρον ἐπέτρεψεν, . . . οὐκ ἂν τὰ ἐλλειφθέντα ἀναπληρῶσαι προσέταξεν, οὐκ ἂν τοσούτων ἐπισκόπων κρίσιν ἐπέτρεψεν· "if he had not been an approved person, in whom the Apostle had perfect confidence, he would never have committed a whole island to him, never have appointed him to perfect what he had left imperfect, never have intrusted to him the jurisdiction over so many bishops." And Theodoret in Arg. *Ep. ad Tit.*[h]; that Titus was "ordained by St. Paul," τῆς Κρήτης μεγίστης οὔσης τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἐπισκόπους χειροτονῆσαι, "to ordain bishops under him for the governing of that whole province, being a very great one;" and Eusebius[i], τῶν ἐπὶ Κρήτης ἐκκλησιῶν ἐπισκοπὴν εἰληχέναι, "that Titus had the inspection of all the Churches in Crete," of which that there was an hundred in number, and Gortyna the metropolis of them all, appears by Dionysius bishop of Corinth about the year of Christ 175, who inscribes an epistle τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ παροικούσῃ Γορτύναν, ἅμα ταῖς λοιπαῖς κατὰ Κρήτην ἐκκλησίαις, "To the Church about Gortyna, together with the rest of the dioceses in Crete," of all which he mentions and commends Philip their bishop, i. e. the metropolitan under whom they all were, as appears by Eusebius, lib. iv. c. 13.

In Timothy.

12. What hath been thus said of Titus, is with the same evidence of the text affirmable of Timothy, when being placed by St. Paul at Ephesus the chief metropolis of Asia, he had by that means the inspection of all the bishops there, and consequently is directed both for the ordaining and exercising jurisdiction over them, and so saith St. Chrysostom[k], δηλὸν ὅτι ἐκκλησίαν λοιπὸν ἦν ἐμπεπιστευμένος Τιμόθεος, ἣ καὶ ἔθνος ὁλόκληρον τὸ τῆς Ἀσίας, διὸ καὶ περὶ πρεσβυτέρων αὐτῷ διαλέγεται, "It is manifest that Timothy was intrusted with more Churches than one, even with a whole nation, that of Asia, and therefore St. Paul discourses to him of elders or bishops:" so the anonymous writer of the Martyrdom of Timothy[l], ὁ ἀπόστολος Τιμόθεος ὑπὸ τοῦ με-

1 Tim. iii. 2.

ch. v. 1, 19.

[h] [This must be a mistake for Theophylact; the passage referred to seems to be the following: τῶν Παύλῳ συνόντων δοκιμώτατος ὁ Τίτος ὢν, ἐπίσκοπός τε τῆς Κρήτης, μεγάλης οὔσης, δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο κεχειροτόνητο, καὶ τοσούτων ἐπισκόπων κρίσιν καὶ χειροτονίαν ἐπετράπη.—Theophylact. in Arg. Ep. ad Tit.]

[i] Euseb. Hist. Eccl., lib. iii. cap. 4.

[k] S. Chrys. Hom. xv. in 1 Tim. v. 15. [p. 637.]

[l] Photii Bib. num. 254.

γάλου Παύλου καὶ χειροτονεῖται τῆς Ἐφεσίων μητροπόλεως ἐπίσκοπος, καὶ ἐνθρονίζεται, "the Apostle Timothy is ordained by St. Paul, and enthroned bishop of the metropolis of Ephesus;" and accordingly is by Theodoret[m] styled Ἀσιανῶν ἀπόστολος, "the Apostle," i. e. "chief ruler" or "bishop of the Asiatics;" and by Eusebius[n], τῆς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ παροικίας ἐπίσκοπος, "bishop of the province about Ephesus." CHAP. III.

13. The same might be shewed of James, bishop of Jerusalem, who by that means was evidently metropolitan of all the cities of all Judea; and even of Syria and Cilicia also, if we may argue concludently from the sending of that canon to those regions. It is likewise the affirmation of Agrippa in Philo of Jerusalem[o], μητρόπολις δὲ οὐ μιᾶς χώρας Ἰουδαίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν πλείστων διὰ τὰς ἀποικίας ἃς ἐξέπεμψεν, "that it was the metropolis, not only of one region, Judea, but of many more, because of the colonies it had sent out," naming Συρίαν, Κιλικίαν, 'Syria' and 'Cilicia' among others. And thereto agrees again, as far as Syria, what we find in the letters of commission which Saul had received from the Sanhedrim at Jerusalem to the synagogues of Damascus, a city of Syria, as being supposed under that metropolis of Judea. And accordingly after the destruction of Jerusalem, Tiberias had this privilege, as appears both by the imperial code, [lib. i.] *tit.* [ix. § 3, 17,] *de Jud. et Cælic.*, and by Epiphanius[p], in the heresy of the Ebionites, who refers all Syria and Cilicia to that metropolis, in the same manner as the synagogues in Assyria and Media to the Sanhedrim in Bagdat, and in all Egypt to that in Alexandria; but all this doth rather belong to the Jewish form among themselves and the jurisdiction of that great Sanhedrim over their colonies thus far diffused, and is not so applicable to the Christian Church at Jerusalem, it being affirmed by Josephus[q] that Antioch was metropolis of all Syria; but this by the way. In James, &c. Acts xv. 23. Acts ix. 1, 2.

14. Thus Philippi appears to have been the metropolis of

[m] [οὕτω Κρήτων ὁ Τίτος, καὶ Ἀσιανῶν ὁ Τιμόθεος ἀπόστολοι.—Comment. in Epist. i. ad Tim., cap. iii. p. 474.]
[n] [Eccl. Hist., lib. iii. cap. 4.]
[o] [Phil. Jud. de Virtutibus, p. 587.]
[p] [S. Epiphan. adv. Hær., lib. i. tom. 2. Hær. xxx. cap. 4.]
[q] De Bel. Jud., lib. iii. cap. 2. [§ 4.]

CHAP. III.

Acts xvi. 12.

one part of Macedonia, as Thessalonica another, *πρώτη τῆς μερίδος Μακεδονίας πόλις*, "the prime city of a portion," or "division," or "province of Macedonia," and is accordingly so styled by Photius[r] the patriarch of Constantinople, *ἡ Φιλίππων πόλις τῆς Μακεδόνων ἐπαρχίας μητρόπολις οὖσα*, "the city of Philippi being a metropolis of a province of the Macedonians;" and so Epaphroditus their bishop in St. Paul's time,—as Theodoret[s] and others resolve from his being called

Phil. ii. 25. *Ἀπόστολος ὑμῶν*, 'their Apostle,'—had under him 'many

Phil. i. 1. bishops,' who are accordingly named in the plural, and all these subordinate to him as their metropolitan.

Rev. ii., iii. 15. So of the seven Churches of Asia, it appears, what hath been elsewhere[t] proved, that they were all metropoles; of Ephesus it hath been already clear, and St. Chrysostom[u] is express, *Ἔφεσός ἐστι μὲν τῆς Ἀσίας μητρόπολις*, "Ephesus is a metropolis of Asia;" and Theodosius[x] *in Ep. ad Dioscor.*, *τὴν Ἐφεσίων μητρόπολιν τῆς Ἀσίας*, and in Photius, the ancient writer of the Martyrdom of Timothy[y] saith of St. John, that being "returned from his banishment," *τῇ Ἐφεσίων ἐπέστη μητροπόλει*, "he resided at the metropolis of the Ephesians." And in Ulpian[z], the proconsul under Antoninus being to go to Asia, was to touch upon *τῶν μητροπόλεων Ἔφεσον*, "Ephesus one and the chief of the metropoles of Asia:"

Acts xix. 38. and accordingly it is said of that city, *ἀνθύπατοί εἰσι καὶ ἀγοραῖοι ἄγονται*, "the proconsuls were there, and the assizes, as in the chief city of that province;" and in Eusebius[a], Antoninus Pius' epistle concerning the Christians is said to have been read and proclaimed at Ephesus *ἐν τῷ κοινῷ τῆς*

[r] Epist. 247.

[s] [*ἀλλ' ὅπερ ἔφην, τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐκάλουν ποτὲ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ ἐπισκόπους, τοὺς δὲ νῦν καλουμένους ἐπισκόπους ἀποστόλους ὠνόμαζον· τοῦ δὲ χρόνου προϊόντος, τὸ μὲν τῆς ἀποστολῆς ὄνομα τοῖς ἀληθῶς ἀποστόλοις κατέλιπον, τὴν δὲ*] *τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς προσηγορίαν τοῖς πάλαι καλουμένοις ἀποστόλοις ἐπέθεσαν· οὕτω Φιλιππησίων ἀπόστολος ὁ Ἐπαφρόδιτος ἦν· [ὑμῶν γάρ φησιν, ἀπόστολον καὶ σύνεργον τῆς χρείας μου· οὕτω Κρητῶν ὁ Τίτος καὶ Ἀσιανῶν ὁ Τιμόθεος ἀπόστολοι· οὕτω ἀπὸ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων τοῖς ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ ἔγραψαν οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι· ἀλλ' ὅμως εἰ καὶ πρεσβυτέροις ταῦτα ὁ θεῖος ἐνομοθέτησε Παῦλος, εὔδηλον ὡς τοὺς ἐπισκόπους πρώτους προσήκει τούτους φυλάττειν τοὺς νόμους, ἅτε δὴ καὶ μείζονος μεταλαχόντας τιμῆς.*]—Theod. in 1 Tim. iii. 1.

[t] [See the author's 'Dissertationes Quatuor,' Diss. iv. cap. 5.]

[u] S. Chrysost. in Arg. Ep. ad Eph. in init.

[x] [Theodosii Ep. ad Dioscorum in Actione prima Conc. Chalcedon. Labbe, tom. iv. p. 100.]

[y] Phot. Bib. num. 254.

[z] [Ulpianus in lib. i. de officio proconsulis. ap. Digest. lib. i. tit. xvi. § 4. Observare autem, &c.]

[a] Hist. Eccl., lib. iv. cap. 13.

Ἀσίας, "in the common council" or *consessus* of Asia, and in Aristides[b] it is styled *ταμιεῖον κοινὸν τῆς Ἀσίας*, "the common magazine of Asia," *καὶ τῆς χρείας καταφυγὴ*, "whither they applied themselves for all their wants." All which are evidences that it was a metropolis, and the chief, of Asia.

16. So of Thyatira, saith Ptolemy[c], *Θυάτειρα μητρόπολις*, "that it was a metropolis." Of Philadelphia the council of Constantinople[d] *Sub Menâ*, *ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Φιλαδελφέων μητροπόλεως, τῆς Λυδῶν ἐπαρχίας*, "the bishop of the metropolis of the Philadelphians of the province of the Lydians," i. e. in this Lydian or proconsular Asia. So Laodicea, Sardis, and Smyrna, together with Ephesus, are set down by Pliny[e] as cities in which the Roman proconsuls kept their assizes, and dispensed justice to all the neighbouring cities, which is the character of a metropolis in the civil notion, and the same he also affirms elsewhere of Pergamus. And thus the whole number of the seven Churches appear each of them to have been metropoles, and accordingly by Ignatius' epistles to the Trallians and Magnesians[f],—the Christians of two neighbour cities of Lydia on the banks of Meander[g], and so of this Asia,—and by the mention of their bishops Damas and Polybius, it is evident that there were other episcopal sees in that Asia, beside those seven named in the Revelation; and those afterward appear to have been subject to the metropolis of Ephesus, which alone of all the seven continued till Constantine's time, the rest being destroyed.

17. From these manifest footsteps of metropolitical power in Scripture, it is easy to descend through the first times, and find the like; as when Ignatius the archbishop of Antioch, the primitive martyr, in his epistle to the Romans

In Ignatius.

[b] Aristid. orat. [de concordia] ad civitates Asiaticas [tom. i. p. 522. ed. Jebb. Oxon, 1722.]

[c] Geogr., lib. v. cap. 2.

[d] [Conc. Const. (A.D. 536.)] Act. 5. [ap. Zonar., p. 678.]

[e] [Lib. v. cap. 29, 30, 31.]

[f] [*ἐπεὶ οὖν ἠξιώθην ἰδεῖν ὑμᾶς διὰ Δαμᾶ τοῦ ἀξιοθέου ὑμῶν ἐπισκόπου, καὶ πρεσβυτέρων ἀξίων, Βάσσου καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου, καὶ τοῦ συνδούλου μου διακόνου Σωτίωνος, οὗ ἐγὼ ὀναίμην, ὅτι ὑποτάσσεται τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὡς χάριτι Θεοῦ καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ ὡς νόμῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.*—Ep. ad Magn., cap. 2.

Ἄμωμον διάνοιαν, καὶ ἀδιάκριτον ἐν ὑπομονῇ ἔγνων ὑμᾶς ἔχοντας, οὐ κατὰ χρῆσιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ φύσιν· καθὼς ἐδήλωσέν μοι Πολύβιος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ὑμῶν, ὃς παρεγένετο θελήματι Θεοῦ καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν Σμύρνῃ.—Ep. ad Trall., cap. 1.]

[g] *Τράλλις πόλις Λυδίας πρὸς τῷ Μαιανδρῷ ποταμῷ.*—Steph. Byzant. de Urbibus, [Lugd. Bat. fol. 1684.]

CHAP. III.

styleth himself[h] *τῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ ἐκκλησίας ποιμένα*, "pastor of the Church which was in Syria," that whole region belonging then to that metropolis of Antioch: agreeable to which is that of the author of the epistle to the Antiocheni[i], whosoever it was, inscribing it *ἐκκλησίᾳ Θεοῦ παροικούσῃ ἐν Συρίᾳ τῇ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ*, "To the Church of God in Syria, that belongs as a province to that of Antioch:" so the epistle to the Romans is inscribed *ἐκκλησίᾳ ἥτις* [*καὶ*] *προκάθηται ἐν τόπῳ χωρίου Ῥωμαίων*, "To the Church which hath the presidency in the place of the region or province of the Romans," which gives the bishop of Rome a metropolitical power over all other the bishops of that province, the Urbicarian region, as it was styled, and distinguished[k] from the province of Italy properly so called, confined to the seven provinces of the civil jurisdiction of the *Vicarius Italiæ*, and the ecclesiastical of the archbishop of Milan the chief metropolis thereof. Of the circuit or compass of this province of the bishop of Rome, many learned men have discoursed excellently out of the ancient surveys of the provinces, particularly that very learned Frenchman so rarely skilled, and judicious in antiquity, Jacobus Leschasserius[l], in his little tract *de Region. Suburbicar.*, but none with more evidence of conviction than our modest countryman Mr. Brerewood[m], who thus describes

In the Bishop of Rome. (What his province.)

[h] [*μνημονεύετε ἐν τῇ εὐχῇ ὑμῶν τῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ ἐκκλησίας, ἥτις ἀντ' ἐμοῦ ποιμένι χρῆται τῷ Κυρίῳ τῷ εἰπόντι· ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλός.*—S. Ignat., Interp. Epist. ad Rom., cap. 9.]

[*Ἰγνάτιος ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος ἐκκλησίᾳ ἠλεημένῃ ὑπὸ Θεοῦ, ἐκλελεγμένῃ ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ, παροικούσῃ ἐν Συρίᾳ καὶ πρώτῃ Χριστοῦ ἐπωνυμίαν λαβούσῃ τῇ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ, ἐν Θεῷ πατρὶ, καὶ κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, χαίρειν.*—S. Ignat., Adscr. Epist. ad Antioch. in init.]

[k] *οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν ἐπίσκοποι.*—Euseb. Eccl. Hist., lib. vii. cap. 30.

ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος [*ἡ κατὰ Θεοῦ χάριν ἐν Σαρδικῇ*] *συναχθεῖσα, ἀπὸ Ῥώμης, καὶ* [*Σπανιῶν, Γαλλιῶν,*] *Ἰταλίας, κ. τ. λ.*—Syn. Sardic. (A.D. 347.) Epist. ad Ecclesiam Alexandrinam ap. Athanas. Apol. ii. contra Arianos, cap. 37.

ἀπό [*τε τῆς*] *μεγάλης Ῥώμης, καὶ* [*τῆς*] *Ἰταλίας πάσης.*—S. Athanas. [Hist. Arian. ad Monachos, tom. i. p. 387.]

Ex provincia Italiæ, civ. Med. Ex prov. Romana, civitate Portuensi.—Syn. Arelat. i. in nominibus synodo præfixis.

[This reference seems to have been taken at second hand from Ussher's tract on the original of Bishops and Metropolitans, and probably has been misprinted. The nearest approach to it among the names prefixed to the account of the council of Arles, (A.D. 314,) in Labbe, vol. i. p. 1429, is as follows:

Claudianus et Vitus presbyter, Eugenius et Cyriacus diaconi, ex urbe Roma missi a Silvestro episcopo. Merocles episcopus, Severus diaconus, de civitate Mediolanensi, provincia Italia. Innocentius diaconus, Agapius exorcista, ex portu Nicaensi.]

[l] [The title of this treatise is "De ecclesiis suburbicariis observatio Jacobi Leschasserii Jurisconsulti." It is a small octavo of 13 pages, published at Frankfort in 1618.]

[m] [The tract referred to is "The Patriarchical Government of the Ancient Church declared by way of answer unto four questions proposed unto Edward Brerewood." It was published as an appendix to a tract

the ancient jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome, That it contained all those provinces of the diocese of Italy, which the old lawyers term *suburbicarias*, of which there were ten, three islands, Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, and the other seven in the firm land of Italy, taking up in a manner all the narrow part of it, viz., all Italy eastward, but on the west no further extended than to the river Magra, the limit of Tuscany, toward the Tyrrhene sea, and to the river Esino, anciently Asius, toward the Adriatic sea. For at that river Esino met both the *Picenum Suburbicarium*, and *Annonarium*, the former of which belonged to the prefecture of Rome, of which that city was the metropolis; and the latter, with all the other provinces in the broader part of Italy, seven of them in all, to the diocese of Italy, of which Milan was the metropolis. Thus Ruffinus[n] in his Paraphrase rather than translation of the Nicene Canon saith, that the bishop of Rome was thereby authorized *suburbicariarum ecclesiarum sollicitudinem gerere*, to "take and manage the care of the suburbicarian Churches;" and there is no reason to doubt but that he that lived so near after that council, and was of Italy, knew competently what he affirmed of that matter. And it being evident that in all other places the ecclesiastical[o] jurisdictions were proportioned to the temporal of the lieutenants, and that the suburbicarian region, and the so many and no more provinces in them, pertained to the prefecture of the city of Rome, it must follow that these were the limits of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of that bishop also. But this by the way, in passing.

now become very scarce, of which the title is as follows, "The original of Bishops and Metropolitans briefly laid down, by Martin Bucer, John Rainoldes, James Ussher; whereunto is annexed a geographical and historical disquisition, touching the Lydian or Proconsular Asia, and the seven metropolitical Churches contained in it, by the said Archbishop of Armagh," &c. The tract itself forms one of a series published in one volume at Oxford in 1641, of which the title is "Certain brief treatises written by divers learned men concerning the ancient and modern government of the Church. Wherein both the primitive institution of episcopacy is maintained, and the lawfulness of the Ordination of the Protestant Ministers beyond the seas likewise defended." The volume consists of tracts by Hooker, Andrewes, Bucer, Reynolds, Ussher, Brerewood, Durel, and Mason. It may be found in the Bodleian catalogue, under the head "Episcopacy." The passage quoted is not exactly in the words of the original, but the whole of this section is taken from it, as likewise are most of the references on the subject of metropolitans.]

[n] Hist. Eccl., lib. i. cap. 6.

[o] *οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἄρχοντα ἐκκλησίας ἑκάστης πόλεως ἄρχοντι τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει συγκριτέον.*—Orig. contr. Cels., lib. iii. [cap. 30.]

CHAP. III.

In Alexandria.

18. So when of St. Mark it is affirmed out of the ancient records by Eusebius [p], that he *ἐκκλησίας πρῶτον [ἐπ' αὐτῆς] Ἀλεξανδρείας συνεστήσατο*, "first constituted Churches," in the plural, "in Alexandria," and under the title of *τῆς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ παροικίας* [q], "the province of Alexandria," put them all into the hands of Anianus in the eighth of Nero, it is evident that Alexandria was a metropolitical or patriarchal see to which all Egypt did belong.

In St. Cyprian.

19. So St. Cyprian the bishop of Carthage, to which the whole province of Africa pertained, is by the council of Constantinople *in Trullo*, Can. 2 [r], called *ἀρχιεπίσκοπος τῆς Ἄφρων χώρας*, "the archbishop of the region of Africa;" and accordingly he often mentions the many bishops in his province, *universis [episcopis] vel in nostra provincia*,—"to all the bishops in our province," Ep. xl. [p. 53,] and *latius fusa est nostra provincia, habet enim Numidiam et Mauritaniam, sibi cohærentes*, "our province is extended further, hath Numidia and the two Mauritanias annexed to it," Ep. xlv. [p. 59;] in each of which there being a Church, and consequently a bishop in every city, as *κατ' ἐκκλησίαν* is all one with *κατὰ πόλιν*, "in every city," they were all subject to this metropolitan.

Acts xiv. 23; xvi. 4.

The subjection of bishops to archbishops.

20. By all this, and much more which might be added, it is manifest, that as the several bishops had prefecture over their several Churches, and the presbyters, deacons, and people under them, such as could not be cast off by any without the guilt and brand of schism; so the bishops themselves of the ordinary, inferior cities, for the preserving of unity, and many other good uses, were subjected to the higher power of archbishops or metropolitans.

Of archbishops to primates, &c.

(Original of primates.)

21. Nay we must yet ascend one degree higher from this of archbishops or metropolitans, to that supreme of primates or patriarchs, the division of which is thus cleared in the division and notitia of the Roman empire. Constantine the Great instituted four *præfecti prætorio*, two in the east, as many in the west; of the western, one at Rome, another at Triers, this last then called *præfectus prætorio Galliarum*. These

[p] [Euseb. Hist. Eccl., lib. ii. cap. 16.]

[q] [Ibid., cap. 24.]

[r] [Vide Labbe, Conc., tom. vi. p. 1142. (A.D. 692.)]

prefects had their several *vicarii,* who in their power and name judged the provinces; as for example, the *præfectus prætorio* placed at Triers had three *vicarii,* or lieutenants, one placed at Triers, a second at Lyons, a third at Vienna, from the greatness of whose authority, and the resort of all other cities and provinces to them for justice, sprang the splendour and dignity of those cities where they resided, and the dependence of large provinces and many other cities on each of them. This whole circuit which was thus subject to, or dependent on any such lieutenant, was by the Greeks called *ἐξαρχία, διοίκησις, πατριὰ,* and the style devolving from the civil to the ecclesiastical divisions, as the former both of cities, and of territories, and of metropoles or mother cities, the chief in every province, had done, the bishop being answerable to the *defensor civitatis,* and the archbishop to the president in every province, from thence it came that every such metropolis which was the seat of any *vicarius* or lieutenant-general, was, over and above *μητρόπολις,* called *ἐξαρχία* and *πατριαρχία,* and the bishop thereof *primas, ἔξαρχος, patriarcha,* a primate, exarch, or patriarch, and all that *διοίκησις,* which is larger than a province, the joint administration of many provinces, with the several metropoles and metropolitans contained in it, was subjected to him. Thus St. Irenæus being bishop of Lyons, is by Eusebius[r] affirmed *τὰς κατὰ Γαλλίαν παροικίας ἐπισκοπεῖν,* "to have the oversight" or government "of the provinces of France," either those only that were under that primate, or perhaps of all France, of which Lyons was then in the ecclesiastical account the first exarchate; for so the same Eusebius[s], *ἧς μητροπόλεις ἐπίσημοι, καὶ παρὰ τὰς ἄλλας τῶν αὐτόθι διαφέρουσαι βεβόηνται Λούγδουνος καὶ Βίεννα,* "Lyons and Vienna, but first Lyons, were famously known to be beyond all others in those parts the principal metropoles of France." And again, *αἱ τῇδε διαφανέσταται,* "these were the most splendid illustrious Churches there." To which first times I conceive belongs that verse of Guilielmus Brito *in Philippeide,*

Et Lugdunensis, quo Gallia tota solebat,
Ut fama est, primate regi—

placing all France under the primate of Lyons, or affirming

[r] Eccl. Hist., lib. v. cap. 23.

[s] Ibid., cap. 1.

CHAP. III.

it from tradition,—*ut fama est*,—that it was wont anciently to be so placed, which was not well understood or taken notice of by the learned Jos. Scaliger[t], when he affirms it *nuperum et novitium, et ex beneficio Romani pontificis indultum*, "a privilege lately granted to the bishop of Lyons by the pope," *quod primatem sese vocari gaudeat*, "that he calls himself primate," which privilege, if not title, did so long since belong to Irenæus, the bishop of that diocese.

22. I shall not need enlarge on this subject, or set down the several primates and dioceses belonging to them. It is known in the ancient *notitiæ* of the Church, that beside the three patriarchs of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, to which title afterward Constantinople and Jerusalem were advanced, there were eleven primates more, there being fourteen dioceses, or joint administrations of many provinces, (for so the word anciently signified, not in the modern sense of it, one city and the territory, the jurisdiction of an ordinary bishop, for which they then used *παροικία*,) seven in the east, and the prefecture of the city of Rome, and six more in the west, into which the whole empire was divided. And though the patriarchs had in councils the precedence, or deference in respect of place, whether because these three cities had the honour to disperse Christianity in a most eminent manner to other cities and nations, or rather from the great dignity of the cities themselves[u],—Rome being the seat and first city

The primate's power equal to that of the patriarch.

[t] In Notit. Galliæ, p. 882. [ap. Du Chesne, Historiæ Francorum Scriptores Coætanei, tom. i. p. 29. Lut. Par. 1636—41. The greater part of this section with its references is taken from this volume.]

[u] [πανταχοῦ τοῖς τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ὅροις ἑπόμενοι, καὶ τὸν ἀρτίως ἀναγνωσθέντα κανόνα τῶν ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα θεοφιλεστάτων ἐπισκόπων, γνωρίζοντες τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς ὁρίζομέν τε καὶ ψηφιζόμεθα περὶ τῶν πρεσβείων τῆς ἁγιωτάτης ἐκκλησίας τῆς αὐτῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως νέας Ῥώμης· καὶ γὰρ] τῷ θρόνῳ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην, οἱ πατέρες εἰκότως ἀποδεδώκασι τὰ πρεσβεῖα· [καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ σκοπῷ κινούμενοι οἱ ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα θεοφιλέστατοι ἐπίσκοποι, τὰ ἴσα πρεσβεῖα ἀπένειμαν τῷ τῆς νέας Ῥώμης ἁγιωτάτῳ θρόνῳ, εὐλόγως κρίναντες, τὴν βασιλείᾳ καὶ συγκλήτῳ τιμηθεῖσαν πόλιν, καὶ τῶν ἴσων ἀπολαύουσαν πρεσβείων τῇ πρεσβυτέρᾳ βασιλίδι Ῥώμῃ, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς ὡς ἐκείνην μεγαλύνεσθαι πράγμασι, δευτέραν μετ' ἐκείνην ὑπάρχουσαν· καὶ ὥστε τοὺς τῆς Ποντικῆς καὶ τῆς Ἀσιανῆς καὶ τῆς Θρακικῆς διοικήσεως μητροπολίτας μόνους, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς βαρβαρικοῖς ἐπισκόπους τῶν προειρημένων διοικήσεων χειροτονεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ προειρημένου ἁγιωτάτου θρόνου τῆς κατὰ Κωνσταντινούπολιν ἁγιωτάτης ἐκκλησίας· δηλαδὴ ἑκάστου μητροπολίτου τῶν προειρημένων διοικήσεων μετὰ τῶν τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἐπισκόπων χειροτονοῦντος τοὺς τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἐπισκόπους, καθὼς τοῖς θείοις κανόσι διηγόρευται· χειροτονεῖσθαι δὲ, καθὼς εἴρηται τοὺς μητροπολίτας τῶν προειρημένων διοικήσεων παρὰ τοῦ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἀρχιεπισκόπου ψηφισμάτων συμφώνων κατὰ τὸ ἔθος γινομένων καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀναφερομένων.]—Synodi Chalcedon. Canon xxviii. [ap. Balsamon, p. 350.]

of the empire, and thereupon thus dignified, saith the council of Chalcedon; and Alexandria by Dio Chrysostom[x] and others affirmed to be the second, and Antioch the third, saith Josephus[y],—yet it is certain that the power and jurisdiction of primates was as great as of patriarchs, and the office the same, (see Anacletus *Epist. ad Episc. Ital.*, and Gratian[z] *Dist.* xcix.,) and many times in authors the very titles confounded, as appears by Justinian, who commonly gives primates the names of partriarchs of the dioceses. And if it be now demanded whether there were not anciently some *summum genus*, some one supreme either of, or over these patriarchs, I answer, that if we respect order, or priority of place again, then the bishop of Rome had it among the patriarchs, as the patriarchs among the primates, that city of Rome being lady of the world, and the seat of the empire; but if we respect power or authority, there was none anciently in the Church over that of primates and patriarchs, but only that of the emperor in the whole Christian world, as of every sovereign prince in his dominions, as may appear by the ancient power and practice of congregating or convoking of councils, provincial by the metropolitan, patriarchal by the patriarch

CHAP. III.

And no power but of the prince above them.

[x] Or. 32. ad Alexandrin. [p. 372.] See Aristid. Or. de Rom. Laud. [tom. i. p. 224.]

[y] [ἡ μητρόπολις ἐστι τῆς Συρίας, μεγέθους τε ἕνεκα καὶ τῆς ἄλλης εὐδαιμονίας, τρίτον ἀδηρίτως ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις οἰκουμένης ἔχουσα τόπον.—Joseph. de bell. Jud., lib. iii. cap. 2. sect. 4.]

[z] [De primatibus autem, quorum supra mentionem fecimus, quæritur quem gradum in ecclesia obtineant, an in aliquo a patriarchis differant, quam obedientiam archiepiscopi eis debeant. Primates et patriarchæ diversorum sunt nominum sed ejusdem officii. Ab archiepiscopis autem quoties necesse fuerit, episcopi ad primates appellant; sed a primatibus ad archiepiscopos appellare non licet. Debent ergo obedientiam primatibus archiepiscopi in omnibus, quæ sibi ab eis juste fuerint imperata. Unde Anacletus papa ait ad episcopos Italiæ epist. 2.

Quæ obedientia sit exhibenda primatibus et patriarchis.

Provinciæ multo ante Christi adventum tempore divisæ sunt maxima ex parte, et postea ab apostolis et beato Clemente prædecessore nostro ipsa divisio est renovata. Et in capite provinciarum, (ubi dudum primates legis sæculi erant, ac prima judiciaria potestas; ad quos qui per reliquas civitates commorabantur, quando eis necesse erat qui ad aulam imperatoris vel regum confugere non poterant, vel quibus permissum non erat, confugiebant pro oppressionibus vel injustitiis suis, ipsosque appellabant, quoties opus erat, sicut in lege eorum præceptum erat:) ipsis quoque in civitatibus vel locis, nostros patriarchas vel primates, qui unam formam tenent, licet diversa sint nomina, leges divinæ et ecclesiasticæ poni et esse jusserunt; ad quos episcopi si necesse fuerit confugerent eosque appellarent, et ipsi primatum nomine fruerentur, et non alii. Reliquæ vero metropolitanæ civitates quæ minores judices habebant, licet majores comitibus essent, haberent metropolitanos suos, qui prædictis juste obedirent primatibus, sicut in legibus sæculi olim ordinatum erat: qui non primatum sed aut metropolitanorum, aut archiepiscoporum nomine fruerentur.—Decreti pars prima, Distinctio xcix. cap. i. p. 107.]

CHAP. III.

or primate, national by the prince, for the first one thousand years, through the whole west, and general by the emperors[a], when for the conserving the unity, or taking care for the necessities of the Church, those last remedies appeared seasonable. But this of general councils being extraordinary, and such as the Church was without them for the first three hundred years, and are now morally impossible to be had, we need not further to ascend to these, but content ourselves with those standing powers in the Church, the uppermost of which are archbishops, primates, and patriarchs, to whom the bishops themselves are in many things appointed to be subject, and this power and subjection defined and asserted by the ancient canons, and the most ancient, even immemorial apostolical tradition and custom avouched for it, as may appear *Concil. Nicen.* I. can. 4. 6; *Concil. Antioch.*, can. 9. 20; *Concil. Chalced.* can. 19. In the sixth Nicene canon[b], where the jurisdiction of all Egypt, Lybia, and Pentapolis is affirmed to belong to the patriarch of Alexandria, and order is taken that the *πρεσβεῖα* or "privileges" of eminency which belong to the bishop of Rome, of Antioch, and metropolitans of all other provinces, shall be conserved entire to them, the introduction is made in these words, *Τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη κρατείτω*, "Let the ancient customs be in force;" the very form which St. Ignatius useth concerning apostolical customs which were to be solicitously retained in the Church, and seems there particularly to refer to those orders which St. Mark had left in Egypt, Lybia, and Pentapolis, subjecting all the bishops there to the patriarch by him constituted in Alexandria.

[a] [*συνεχῶς δὲ καὶ τοὺς Βασιλεῖς τῇ ἱστορίᾳ περιλαμβάνομεν, διότι ἀφ' οὗ Χριστιανίζειν ἤρξαντο, τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πράγματα ἤρτητο ἐξ αὐτῶν, καὶ*] *αἱ μέγισται σύνοδοι τῇ αὐτῶν γνώμῃ, γεγόνασί τε καὶ γίνονται.*—Socrat., Hist. Eccles., lib. v. in Procem.

Ex superioribus habetur, imperatores sanctos congregationes synodales universalium conciliorum totius ecclesiæ semper fecisse. Ita ego perlustrans gesta omnium universalium [conciliorum] usque ad octavum inclusive Basilii tempore celebratum verum esse reperi.—Cusan. de Concord. Cathol., lib. iii. cap. 13, and cap. 16. See St. Hierome in Apol. adv. Ruffin., lib. ii. [cap. 19,] where speaking of a pretended synod, he adds, [Doce qui eo anno consules fuerint,] quis imperator hanc synodum jusserit congregari?

[b] [*τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη κρατείτω, τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Λιβύῃ καὶ Πενταπόλει, ὥστε τὸν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἐπίσκοπον πάντων τούτων ἔχειν τὴν ἐξουσίαν· ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῷ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπισκόπῳ τοῦτο σύνηθές ἐστιν· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιοχείαν, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπαρχίαις, τὰ πρεσβεῖα σώζεσθαι ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις· καθόλου δὲ πρόδηλον ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι εἴτις χωρὶς γνώμης μητροπολίτου γένοιτο ἐπίσκοπος, τὸν τοιοῦτον ἡ μεγάλη σύνοδος ὥρισε μὴ δεῖν εἶναι ἐπίσκοπον· ἐὰν μέντοι τῇ κοινῇ πάντων ψήφῳ εὐλόγῳ οὔσῃ, καὶ κατὰ κανόνα ἐκκλησιαστικὸν δύο ἢ τρεῖς δι' οἰκείαν φιλονεικίαν ἀντιλέγωσι, κρατείτω ἡ τῶν πλειόνων ψῆφος.*—Concil. Nicen. Canon vi. ap. Balsamon, p. 285.]

CHAP. III.

23. So in the ninth canon of the council of Antioch[c], where *ὁ ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει προεστὼς ἐπίσκοπος*, "the bishop presiding in the metropolis," is appointed *τὴν φροντίδα ἀναδέχεσθαι πάσης τῆς ἐπαρχίας*, "to undertake the care of the whole province," and all the inferior cities, and bishops in them, and the bishops commanded *μηδὲν πράττειν περιττὸν ἄνευ αὐτοῦ*, it is straight added *κατὰ τὸν ἀρχαῖον κρατήσαντα τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν κανόνα*, "according to the ancient canon of the fathers, which hath continued in force," from the first times also, unto that council. Where if it be demanded what is the importance of *μηδὲν περιττὸν*, I conceive the word to be best explained by Hesychius, *περιττοὶ, περισσοὶ, περίεργοι*, (it should doubtless be *περίεργοι*,) and so the meaning of the canon to be, agreeably to the express words of other canons, that as any ordinary bishop hath full power in his own Church, which he may in all things, wherein that alone is concerned, exercise independently from the commands or directions of any; so in any thing of a more foreign nature, wherein any other Church is concerned equally with that, and so falls not under the sole cognizance or judgment of either, there the bishop of that Church is to do nothing without directions from the metropolitan,—and that is the meaning of *περιττὸν*, as that is all one with *περίεργον*,—that no bishop must do any thing but what belongs particularly to him *ratione officii*, any thing that another is concerned in, as well as he, without the metropolitan.

24. So in the council of Chalcedon[d] the direction is given

[c] [*τοὺς καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπαρχίαν ἐπισκόπους εἰδέναι χρὴ τὸν ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει προεστῶτα ἐπίσκοπον, καὶ τὴν φροντίδα ἀναδέχεσθαι πάσης τῆς ἐπαρχίας, διὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει πανταχόθεν συντρέχειν πάντας τοὺς τὰ πράγματα ἔχοντας· ὅθεν ἔδοξε καὶ τῇ τιμῇ προηγεῖσθαι αὐτὸν, μηδέν τε πράττειν περιττὸν τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐπισκόπους ἄνευ αὐτοῦ, κατὰ τὸν ἀρχαῖον κρατήσαντα τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν κανόνα, ἢ ταῦτα μόνα ὅσα τῇ ἑκάστου ἐπιβάλλει παροικίᾳ, καὶ ταῖς ὑπ' αὐτὴν χώραις· ἕκαστον γὰρ ἐπίσκοπον ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ παροικίας, διοικεῖν τε κατὰ τὴν ἑκάστῳ ἐπιβάλλουσαν εὐλάβειαν, καὶ πρόνοιαν ποιεῖσθαι πάσης τῆς χώρας τῆς ὑπὸ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν, ὡς καὶ χειροτονεῖν πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διακόνους, καὶ μετὰ κρίσεως ἕκαστα διαλαμβάνειν, περαιτέρω δὲ μηδὲν πράττειν ἐπιχειρεῖν, δίχα τοῦ τῆς μητροπόλεως ἐπισκόπου, μηδὲ αὐτὸν ἄνευ τῆς τῶν λοιπῶν γνώμης.*—Synodi Antioch. Can. ix. ap. Balsamon, p. 816.]

[d] [*εἴτις κληρικὸς πρὸς κληρικὸν πρᾶγμα ἔχοι, μὴ ἐγκαταλιμπανέτω τὸν οἰκεῖον ἐπίσκοπον, καὶ ἐπὶ κοσμικὰ δικαστήρια κατατρεχέτω· ἀλλὰ πρότερον τὴν ὑπόθεσιν γυμναζέτω παρὰ τῷ ἰδίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ, ἤγουν γνώμῃ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου παρ' οἷς ἂν τὰ ἀμφότερα μέρη βούλωνται τὰ τῆς δίκης συγκροτεῖσθαι· εἰ δέ τις παρὰ ταῦτα ποιήσοι, κανονικοῖς ἐπιτιμίοις ὑποκείσθω· εἰ δὲ καὶ κληρικὸς πρᾶγμα ἔχοι πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον ἢ καὶ πρὸς ἕτερον ἐπίσκοπον, παρὰ τῇ συνόδῳ τῆς ἐπαρχίας δικαζέσθω· εἰ δὲ πρὸς τὸν τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπαρχίας μητροπολίτην ἐπίσκοπος ἢ κληρικὸς ἀμφισβητοίη, καταλαμβανέτω ἢ ἔξαρχον τῆς διοικήσεως ἢ τὸν τῆς βασιλευούσης Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*

CHAP. III.

for appeals in this order, from the bishop to the metropolitan, from the metropolitan to the ἔξαρχος or "primate" of the diocese or province, as where there are more metropolitans than one, as was shewed of Ephesus in Asia[e], and elsewhere frequently, there some one is primate or patriarch among them, and to him lies the appeal in the last resort, and from him to no other; see Justinian[f], who speaking of this calls it an ancient decree.

25. That which we find in the eighth canon of the great council of Ephesus[g], shall conclude this matter. When upon some claim of the patriarch of Antioch for an interest in the ordaining of the patriarch of Cyprus, the bishops of Cyprus deny his claim, and deduce their privilege of *αὐτοκεφαλία* or "independence" from any foreign bishop, from the very Apostles' times, *a sanctis Apostolis*, say they, *nunquam possunt ostendere, quod adfuerit Antiochenus et ordinaverit, vel communicaverit unquam insulæ ordinationis gratiam, neque alius quisquam;* "from the very Apostles' times they can never shew that the patriarch of Antioch or any other was present and ordained, or (being absent) sent the grace of ordination to this island, but that the bishops of Constantia, the metropolis of that island, by name Troilus, Sabinus, and Epiphanius,

θρόνον, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ δικαζέσθω.—Synodi Chalcedon. Canon ix. ap. Balsamon, p. 333.]

[e] τῶν μητροπόλεων πρώτην Ἔφεσος.—Ulp. Observ. de Offic. Procons. [ap. Digest., lib. i. tit. 16. p. 85.]

[f] [Tit. vi.] Novel. 123. cap. 22; and Cod., lib. i. tit. iv. leg. 30.

[g] [πρᾶγμα παρὰ τοὺς ἐκκλησιαστικοὺς θεσμοὺς καὶ τοὺς κανόνας τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων καινοτομούμενον, καὶ τῆς πάντων ἐλευθερίας ἀπτόμενον προσήγγειλεν ὁ θεοφιλέστατος συνεπίσκοπος Ῥηγῖνος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ θεοφιλέστατοι ἐπίσκοποι τῆς Κυπρίων ἐπαρχίας, Ζήνων καὶ Εὐάγριος, ὅθεν ἐπειδὴ τὰ κοινὰ πάθη μείζονος δεῖται τῆς θεραπείας, ὡς καὶ μείζονα τὴν βλάβην φέροντα, εἰ μηδὲ ἔθος ἀρχαῖον παρηκολούθησεν ὥστε τὸν ἐπίσκοπον τῆς Ἀντιοχέων πόλεως, τὰς ἐν Κύπρῳ ποιεῖσθαι χειροτονίας, καθὰ διὰ τῶν λιβέλλων καὶ τῶν οἰκείων φωνῶν ἐδίδαξαν οἱ εὐλαβέστατοι ἄνδρες, οἱ τὴν πρόσοδον τῇ ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ ποιησάμενοι, ἔξουσι τὸ ἀνεπηρέαστον καὶ ἀβίαστον οἱ τῶν ἁγίων ἐκκλησιῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Κύπρον προεστῶτες, κατὰ τοὺς κανόνας τῶν ὁσίων πατέρων καὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν συνήθειαν, δι' ἑαυτῶν τὰς χειροτονίας τῶν εὐλαβεστάτων ἐπισκόπων ποιούμενοι· τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων διοικήσεων καὶ τῶν ἁπανταχοῦ ἐπαρχιῶν ἐκφυλαχθήσεται· ὥστε μηδένα τῶν θεοφιλεστάτων ἐπισκόπων ἐπαρχίαν ἑτέραν οὐκ οὖσαν ἄνωθεν καὶ ἐξαρχῆς ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἡγουν τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ χεῖρα καταλαμβάνειν· ἀλλ' εἰ καί τις κατέλαβεν, καὶ ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ πεποίηται βιασάμενος, τοῦτον ἀποδιδόναι, ἵνα μὴ τῶν πατέρων οἱ κανόνες παραβαίνωνται, μηδὲ ἐν ἱερουργίας προσχήματι ἐξουσίας τῦφος κοσμικῆς παρεισδύηται, μηδὲ λάθωμεν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπολέσαντες, ἣν ἡμῖν ἐδωρήσατο τῷ ἰδίῳ αἵματι ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, ὁ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐλευθερώτης. Ἔδοξε τοίνυν τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ οἰκουμενικῇ συνόδῳ, σώζεσθαι ἑκάστῃ ἐπαρχίᾳ καθαρὰ καὶ ἀβίαστα τὰ αὐτῇ προσόντα δίκαια ἐξαρχῆς ἄνωθεν κατὰ τὸ πάλαι κρατήσαν ἔθος, ἄδειαν ἔχοντος ἑκάστου μητροπολίτου τὰ ἴσα τῶν πεπραγμένων πρὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον ἀσφαλὲς ἐκλαβεῖν· εἰ δέ τις μαχόμενον τύπον τοῖς νῦν ὡρισμένοις προκομίσοι, ἄκυρον τοῦτον εἶναι ἔδοξε τῇ ἁγίᾳ πάσῃ καὶ οἰκουμενικῇ συνόδῳ.—Synodi Ephes. Canon viii. ap. Balsamon, p. 319.]

and all the orthodox bishops from the Apostles' times," *ab his qui in Cypro constituti sunt,* "have been constituted and ordained by their own bishops of the island," and accordingly they required that they might continue in the same manner, *sicut initio a temporibus Apostolorum . . . . permansit Cypriorum synodus,* "as they had done from the times of the very Apostles," still appealing *εἰς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἔθος, ἀρχαίαν συνήθειαν, τὰ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἄνωθεν δίκαια,* "to the ancient manner, the ancient customs, the privileges," which from their first plantation they had enjoyed, and that from the Apostles themselves. And accordingly that council condemned the pretension of the patriarch of Antioch, as that which was *πρᾶγμα παρὰ τοὺς ἐκκλησιαστικοὺς θεσμοὺς καὶ τοὺς κανόνας τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων καινοτομούμενον,* "an innovation against the ecclesiastical laws and canons of the holy fathers," and orders not only in behalf of the Cypriots that the bishops of their Churches *ἔξουσι τὸ ἀνεπηρέαστον καὶ ἀβίαστον . . . .* "shall continue to enjoy their right inviolate according to the ancient custom," but extended their sentence to all other dioceses in these words, *τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων διοικήσεων καὶ τῶν ἁπανταχοῦ ἐπαρχιῶν ἐκφυλαχθήσεται, ὥστε μηδένα τῶν θεοφιλεστάτων ἐπισκόπων ἐπαρχίαν ἑτέραν, οὐκ οὖσαν ἄνωθεν καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτοῦ, ἤγουν τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ χεῖρα, καταλαμβάνειν.* "The same shall be observed in all other dioceses and provinces wheresoever, that no bishop shall lay hold of another province, which hath not been formerly and from the beginning under their or their ancestors' power." And again, *ἔδοξε τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ οἰκουμενικῇ συνόδῳ σώζεσθαι ἑκάστῃ ἐπαρχίᾳ καθαρὰ καὶ ἀβίαστα τὰ αὐτῇ προσόντα ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἄνωθεν κατὰ τὸ πάλαι κρατήσαν ἔθος.* "This holy and œcumenical synod hath decreed, that the privileges and rights of every province shall be conserved pure and inviolate, as they have enjoyed them from the beginning, according to the custom that hath anciently been in force." All deducing this power of primates over their own bishops, (and together excluding all foreign pretenders,) from the Apostles and first planters of the Churches, and requiring all to remain as they were first thus constituted. Wherein as there be many things of useful observation, which will be more fitly applicable in the progress of this discourse, so that which is alone pertinent

CHAP. III.

to this place is only this, that there may be a disobedience and irregularity, and so a schism, even in the bishops in respect of their metropolitans, and of the authority which they have by canon and primitive custom over them, which was therefore to be added to the several species of schism set down in the former chapters.

CHAP. IV.

THE PRETENDED EVIDENCES OF THE ROMANIST AGAINST THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND EXAMINED, AND FIRST THAT FROM THE BISHOP OF ROME'S SUPREMACY BY CHRIST'S DONATION TO ST. PETER.

1. THE scene being thus prepared, and the nature and sorts of schism defined and summarily enumerated, our method now leads us to enquire impartially, what evidences are producible against the Church of England, whereby it may be thought liable to this guilt of schism, and these pretended evidences may be of several sorts, according to the several species of this sort of schism described and acknowledged by us.

The first charge against us, our casting out the pope's supremacy.

2. The first evidence that is offered against us is taken from a presumed supremacy of the bishop of Rome, as successor to St. Peter, over all Churches in the world, which being in the days of Henry VIII. renounced and disclaimed, first by both Universities, and most of the greatest and famous monasteries of this kingdom,—in their negative answer and determination of this question, *an aliquid authoritatis in hoc regno Angliæ pontifici Romano de jure competat plusquam alii cuiquam episcopo extero?* "Whether the pope of Rome have of right any authority in the realm of England, more than any other foreign bishop hath?"—and that determination of theirs testified under their hands and seals, and after by act of convocation subscribed by the bishops and clergy, and confirmed by their corporal oaths, and at last the like imposed by act of parliament, 35 Hen. VIII. c. 1, all this is looked on and condemned as an act of schism in this Church and nation, in renouncing that power of St. Peter's successors placed over all Christians by Christ.

3. This objection against us consisting of many branches, every of which must be manifested or granted to have truth

in it, or else the objection will be of no force; 1. the matter of fact, that thus it was in England; 2. the consequence of that fact, that it were schism, supposing these successors of St. Peter were thus set over all Christians by Christ; 3. the matter of fact again, that St. Peter's successors were thus constituted universal pastors by Christ; this again of two branches, i. that St. Peter was so constituted; ii. that the power instated on St. Peter devolved on the bishops of Rome; I shall endeavour to expedite this matter by granting, and not requiring the pretenders further to prove the two first branches, and leave the issue of the debate to their manifesting the truth, or our manifesting the falsehood of the last mentioned, but indeed the principal fundamental part of the contention, as it consists of two branches, one as it respects St. Peter, the other as it respects his successor in the see of Rome; wherein if the Romanists' pretensions shall appear to have truth in them, we must be acknowledged, by breaking off from our submission to that see, to be formally schismatics, according to the grounds already laid and acknowledged by us; but on the other side, if their pretensions herein shall appear to be false, or insufficiently proved and manifested, there is no other branch of the argument, be it never so true, which can give the conclusion any authority with any pondering rational man, it being in the power of any weak link to destroy the usefulness of the whole chain, and consequent to the falseness or inevidence of any one proposition, that the conclusion shall not be inferred by that arguing.

The supremacy of St. Peter examined.

4. And first for the pretension as far as it respecteth St. Peter, and must be managed by evidences, and so concluded either on one side or the other, I shall begin with offering my evidences for the negative.

Evidences against it. First from his being Apostle of the circumcision peculiarly.

5. And first it is evident by Scripture, that this Apostle was the Apostle of the circumcision, or Jews, exclusively to the uncircumcision, or gentiles, which were generally another's province. By Apostle here I understand a commissioner of Christ's, endued with authority by Him, and this commission given to him, as to all the other Apostles, indefinitely and unlimitedly, not restrained by Christ's words to any particular province, but extending equally to the whole world; what therefore is done in this kind is by subsequent act of

CHAP. IV.

the Apostles themselves, who are testified to have done that which it had been very unskilful and improvident, and consequently unreasonable, not to have done, viz., distributed their universal great province into several *κλήρους ἀποστολῆς*, "distributions," or "lots," or "lesser provinces," one or more to go one way, the other another, which is there called by St. Peter *πορευθῆναι εἰς τὸν τόπον τὸν ἴδιον*, "to go to his own," or "proper place," or "assignation," for the witnessing the resurrection, and proclaiming the faith or doctrine of Christ to the world.

Acts i. 25.

6. Now if the circumcision, or Jewish Christians, were peculiarly St. Peter's province, the lot or division assigned unto him,—agreeable unto which it is, that both his preaching in the Acts is to the Jews in Judea and Samaria, and his Epistles are both of them addressed to the Jews of the dispersion, and none else,—then it is not imaginable how he should be the universal, or supreme pastor, or bishop of the whole world: for the Christians of that age of the world being either Jews or gentiles, the Jews again either those that remained in their country or those that were dispersed in other regions, there was but one portion of one of these which can reasonably be placed under St. Peter's jurisdiction. The Jews that were in Judea were all immediately subject to the several bishops in each city, and all they to their metropolitan, James the bishop of Jerusalem. Of this James the brother, or near kinsman, of Christ, many of the ancients affirm[h], that he was by Christ after His resurrection constituted bishop there; others[i] that it was done by Christ and

[h] [*ἔπειτα*] *ὤφθη Ἰακώβῳ*, [*τῷ ἀδελφῷ τοῦ Κυρίου*] *τῷ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καταστα-θέντι ἐπισκόπῳ πρώτῳ Ἱεροσολύμων.*—Theoph. in 1 Cor. xv. 7. ex sententia Chrysostomi. [*ἔπειτα ὤφθη Ἰακώβῳ· ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ τῷ ἀδελφῷ ἑαυτοῦ· αὐτὸς γὰρ αὐτὸν λέγεται κεχειροτονηκέναι, καὶ ἐπίσκοπον ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις πεποιηκέναι πρῶτον.*—S. Chrys., Hom. xxxviii. in Epist. i. ad Cor., tom. x. p. 355.]

Ἰάκωβος ὁ πρῶτος ἀρχιερέων, καὶ δεσποτικῇ χειρὶ τὸ ἱερὸν χρίσμα καὶ τὴν ἐφορίαν Ἱεροσολύμων λαχών.—Photius, Epist. 117. [p. 158.]

So also Nicephorus, [*καὶ δὴ μετὰ τὴν Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου τελείωσιν, τὴν Ἰακώβου ὃς ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Κυρίου ἐλέγετο, καὶ τὴν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐκκλησίαν πρῶτος παρὰ τοῦ Σωτῆρος Χριστοῦ ἐγκεχείριστο, ὡς δὲ τίνες, καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτῶν ὕστερον, Ὀβλίας δὲ ἐκαλεῖτο ὅ ἐστι δίκαιος, διηγήσομαι.*—Hist. Eccl.] lib. ii. cap. 38. *ὁ θεῖος Ἰάκωβος ὁ τῆς ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ἐκκλησίας τὸν κλῆρον λαχὼν, καὶ ταύτης πρῶτος ἐπίσκοπος ὑπὸ τοῦ πρώτου καὶ μεγάλου ἀρχιερέως Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν κρατασταθεὶς.*—S. Procl. Constant. de traditione Divinæ Missæ [ap. Galland., tom. ix. p. 680.]

[i] [*τὸν γὰρ Ἰακώβου θρόνον τοῦ πρώτου τῆς Ἱεροσολύμων ἐκκλησίας τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν πρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ Σωτῆρος καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων ὑποδεξαμένου.*—Euseb. Hist. Eccl., lib. vii. cap. 19.]

His Apostles; others[k] the more ancient, that the Apostles constituted him in that see, St. Peter, St. James, and St. John, the three most honoured by Christ, conferring this honour upon him, whereupon in this his see he is named before Peter and John, and hath the principal place in the council at Jerusalem, where St. Peter is present, and accordingly gives the sentence upon which the rescript is grounded. From all which as it appeareth, that the jurisdiction in that metropolis, —which had extended very far among the Jews, not only to all Judea, but even to Syria and Cilicia and other regions, saith Agrippa in Philo[l], as hath formerly been mentioned,— belonged to James the Just, and not to St. Peter; so it is as evident that it was not by St. Peter alone entrusted to him, (which might conclude some peculiar transcendent power of St. Peter there,) but by St. James and St. John together with St. Peter, which quite takes off all pretension of his to the singular supremacy there.

Gal. ii. 9. Acts xv. 19. ver. 22.

7. So again for the uncircumcision or gentile Christians, they were not St. Peter's province but peculiarly St. Paul's,— by St. Peter's own confession and acknowledgment,—who is therefore styled the Apostle of the gentiles, and that without any commission received, or consequently dependence from St. Peter, as he declares and contests it, having his assignation immediately from Christ. Accordingly whensoever those two great Apostles came to the same city, the one constantly applied himself to the Jews, received disciples of such, formed them into a Church, left them, when he departed that

The gentiles were not St. Peter's province. Gal. ii. 9. Rom. 11. 13. Gal. i. 12. 17. ver. 16.

[k] [τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Ἰάκωβον ὃν καὶ δίκαιον ἐπίκλην οἱ πάλαι δι' ἀρετῆς ἐκάλουν προτερήματα, πρῶτον ἱστοροῦσι τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐκκλησίας τὸν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἐγχειρισθῆναι θρόνον. Κλήμης δὲ ἐν ἕκτῳ τῶν ὑποτυπώσεων γράφων ὧδε παρίστησι·] Πέτρον [γάρ] φησι καὶ Ἰάκωβον καὶ Ἰωάννην [μετὰ τὴν ἀνάληψιν τοῦ Σωτῆρος] ὡς ἂν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου προτετιμημένους, μὴ ἐπιδικάζεσθαι δόξης, ἀλλ' Ἰάκωβον τὸν δίκαιον ἐπίσκοπον Ἱεροσολύμων ἑλέσθαι.—Ibid., lib. ii. cap. 1.

[ἀκριβεστατά γε μὴν τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν ὁ Ἡγήσιππος, ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης τῶν ἀποστόλων γενόμενος διαδοχῆς, ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ αὐτοῦ ὑπομνήματι] τοῦτον [λέγων ἱστορεῖ] τὸν τρόπον· διαδέχεται [δὲ τὴν] ἐκκλησίαν μετὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰάκωβος, [ὁ ὀνομασθεὶς ὑπὸ πάντων δίκαιος, ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ Κυρίου χρόνων μεχρὶ καὶ ἡμῶν.]—Ibid., cap. 23.

ᾧ πρὸς τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς [τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις] ἐγκεχείριστο θρόνος.—Ibid., cap. 23. Vide Athan. in Synops.; Epiph. Hær. [29. p. 119;] Nyssen. de Resur. Or. 2. [tom. iii. p. 413;] Hieron. in Gal. i. [19.] et in Catal. Euseb in Chron., p. 43.

[l] μητρόπολις οὐ μιᾶς χώρας Ἰουδαίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν πλείστων διὰ τὰς ἀποικίας ἃς ἐξέπεμψεν . . . εἰς μὲν τὰς ὁμόρους, Αἴγυπτον, Φοινίκην, Συρίαν . . . εἰς δὲ τὰς πόρρω διωκισμένας, Παμφυλίαν, Κιλικίαν, τὰ πολλὰ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀχρὶ Βιθυνίας καὶ [τῶν τοῦ] Πόντου [μυχῶν.—De virtut., tom. ii. p. 587.]

CHAP. IV.

region, to be governed by some bishop of his assignation: and the other in like manner did the same to the gentiles.

8. Thus we know it was at Antioch, where St. Peter converted the Jews and St. Paul the Gentiles,—and certainly St. Paul no way subordinate or dependent on him, as appears by his behaviour toward him avowed,—and accordingly in Ignatius' Epistle to the Magnesians[m] we read of the Church of Antioch, that it was τεθεμελιωμένη, founded by St. Peter and St. Paul, not by one, or other, but by both; and in the ancient, if not Ignatian Epistle to the Antiochians[n], "You," saith he, Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου μαθηταὶ γεγόνατε, "have been the disciples of Peter and Paul," i. e. converted and ruled by them, the Jewish part by one and the gentile by the other, and the Church of the gentiles at Antioch and Syria, of which Antioch was the chief city, and Cilicia, is it to which peculiarly the decrees of the council at Jerusalem are sent, and inscribed τοῖς κατ' Ἀντιόχειαν . . . ἀδελφοῖς τοῖς ἐξ ἐθνῶν, "To the brethren at Antioch . . . those of the gentiles," and that separately from the Jewish Church in that city or region, as is evident both by the contents of that rescript, or decretal Epistle, in which only the gentiles were concerned, and also by that which we read of St. Peter and the Jewish proselytes, that they withdrew from all communion and society with the gentile Christians, upon which St. Paul reproved him publicly. According to this condition of disparate, not subordinate Churches at Antioch, it is, that the writer of the Apostolical Constitutions[o] tells us, that Euodius and Ignatius at the same time sat bishops of Antioch, one succeeding St. Peter, the other St. Paul, one in the Jewish, the other in the gentile congregation, and so continued awhile, till both the Churches,—the wall of separation being by compliance and Christian charity removed,—joined and united together under Ignatius, who therefore as by Origen[p] and Eusebius[q] he is called the second, so by St.

Gal. ii. 11.

Acts xv. 22.

ver. 28, 29.

Gal. ii. 11.

ver. 12.

[m] [ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ γὰρ ἐχρημάτισαν οἱ μαθηταὶ Χριστιανοὶ, Παύλου καὶ Πέτρου θεμελιούντων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.—S. Ignat. Interp. Epist. ad Magn., cap. 10.]

[n] [S. Ignat. Adscr. Epist. ad Antioch., cap. 7.]

[o] [Const. Apost., lib. vii. cap. 46.]

[p] [Unde eleganter in cujusdam martyris epistola scriptum reperi, Ignatium dico episcopum Antiochiæ post Petrum secundum qui in persecutione Romæ pugnavit ad bestias, *Principem sæculi hujus latuit virginitas Mariæ.*—Orig., Hom. vi. in Luc. interp. S. Hieron., tom. iii. p. 938.]

[q] Euseb. Hist. Eccl., [lib. iii. cap. 22.]

Jerome is called the third bishop of Antioch, and yet as truly by Athanasius[r], *μετὰ τοὺς Ἀποστόλους* [*ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ*] *καταταθεὶς ἐπίσκοπος*, said to be "constituted bishop after the Apostles," and by St. Chrysostom[s] to the same purpose, *αἱ τῶν μακαρίων Ἀποστόλων χεῖρες*, "that the blessed Apostles' hands were laid upon him," whilst yet Theodoret, *ἀπὸ τῆς μεγάλου Πέτρου δεξιᾶς*, affirms him to have received the "archi-sacerdotal honour from the hands of St. Peter."

9. The same is as evident at Rome, where these two great Apostles met again, and each of them erected and managed a Church, St. Peter of Jews, St. Paul of gentiles. So saith St. Irenæus[t], *θεμελιώσαντες καὶ οἰκοδομήσαντες οἱ μακάριοι Ἀπόστολοι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*, "the blessed Apostles founded and built the Church there;" and Epiphanius[u] more expressly, *ἐν Ῥώμῃ . . γεγόνασι* [*πρῶτοι*] *Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος, οἱ Ἀπόστολοι αὐτοὶ καὶ ἐπίσκοποι*, "Peter and Paul were Apostles and bishops in Rome." So the inscription on their tombs, which, saith Eusebius[x], continued to his time, mentions them both as founders of that Church. So Gaius, an ecclesiastic writer of great antiquity, coætaneous to Pope Zephyrinus, speaking of the monuments of St. Peter and St. Paul, calls them *τροπαῖα τῶν ταύτην ἱδρυσαμένων ἐκκλησίαν*, "the monuments of them that founded that Church."

10. So Dionysius the bishop of Corinth, who lived about twenty years after their death, affirms both of the Church of

[r] De Syn. Arim. et Seleuc. [cap. 47. tom. i. p. 761.]

[s] [*οὐ γὰρ μόνον ὅτι τοσαύτης ἀρχῆς ἄξιος εἶναι ἔδοξε, θαυμάζω τὸν ἄνδρα ἐγὼ, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἐκείνων τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην ἐνεχειρίσθη, καὶ*] *αἱ τῶν μακαρίων ἀποστόλων χεῖρες* [*τῆς ἱερᾶς ἥψαντο κεφαλῆς.*—S. Chrys.] Encom. [S.] Ignat. [tom. ii. p. 594.]

[t] [*θεμελιώσαντες οὖν καὶ οἰκοδομήσαντες οἱ μακάριοι ἀπόστολοι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, Λίνῳ τὴν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς λειτουργίαν ἐνεχείρισαν.*—Euseb., Hist. Eccl., lib. v. cap. 6.]

[u] Lib. i. adv. Carpocrat. [p. 107.]

[x] [*καὶ πιστοῦται γε τὴν ἱστορίαν ἡ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου εἰς δεῦρο κρατήσασα ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτόθι κοιμητηρίων πρόσρησις. οὐδὲν δ' ἧττον καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικὸς ἀνὴρ Γαΐος ὄνομα, κατὰ Ζεφυρῖνον Ῥωμαίων γεγονὼς ἐπίσκοπον· ὃς δὴ Πρόκλῳ τῆς κατὰ Φρύγας προϊσταμένῳ γνώμης ἐγγράφως διαλεχθεὶς, αὐτὰ δὴ ταῦτα περὶ τῶν τόπων ἔνθα τῶν εἰρημένων ἀποστόλων τὰ ἱερὰ σκηνώματα κατατέθειται, φησίν· ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ τρόπαια τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔχω δεῖξαι. ἐὰν γὰρ θελήσῃς ἀπελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν βατικανὸν, ἢ ἐπὶ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν Ὠστίαν, εὑρήσεις τὰ τρόπαια τῶν ταύτην ἱδρυσαμένων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. ὡς δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἄμφω καιρὸν ἐμαρτύρησαν, Κορινθίων ἐπίσκοπος Διονύσιος ἐγγράφως Ῥωμαίοις ὁμιλῶν, ὧδέ πως παρίστησιν· ταῦτα καὶ ὑμεῖς διὰ τῆς τοσαύτης νουθεσίας τὴν ἀπὸ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου φυτείαν γενηθεῖσαν Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Κορινθίων συνεκεράσατε. καὶ γὰρ ἄμφω καὶ εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν Κόρινθον φυτεύσαντες ἡμᾶς, ὁμοίως ἐδίδαξαν· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὁμόσε διδάξαντες, ἐμαρτύρησαν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρόν.*—Euseb. Eccl. Hist., lib. ii. cap. 25.]

CHAP. IV.

Rome and of Corinth, τὴν ἀπὸ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου φυτείαν γενομένην[y], "that it was" (each of them) "the plantation of Peter and Paul;" and Prosper[z], *Petrus et Paulus Apostoli in urbe Roma* [*ecclesiam . . . sacrarunt*], "Peter and Paul the Apostles consecrated or constituted a Church in the city of Rome." And the very seals of popes are an irrefragable evidence of the same, as they are set down by Matthew Paris[a] in the year of our Lord 1237. *In bulla domini papæ*, saith he, *stat imago Pauli a dextris crucis in medio bullæ figuratæ, et Petri a sinistris;* "In the bull of the pope stands the image of St. Paul on the right hand of the cross, which is graven in the midst of the seal, and the image of St. Peter on the left hand;" and this only account given for St. Paul's having the nobler place, *quia Paulus credidit in Christum quem non vidit, a dextris figuratur*, "because he believed on Christ without seeing Him" here on earth. And all this very agreeable to the story of Scripture, which as, according to the brevity of the relations there made, it only sets down St. Peter to be the Apostle of the circumcision,—and of his being so at Rome we make no question,—so it affirms of St. Paul, that
Acts 28. 30. he preached at Rome in his "own hired house, receiving them which came unto him," which will most fitly be applied to the gentiles of that city, the Jews having solemnly de-
ver. 29. parted from him.

11. Accordingly in Ignatius, *Ep.* [*Interp.*] *ad Trall.*, [cap. 7.] we read of Linus and Clemens, that one was St. Paul's, the other St. Peter's deacon, both which afterwards succeeded them in the episcopal chair, Linus being constituted bishop of the gentile, Clemens of the Jewish Christians there; and hence grows, unquestionably, that variety or difference observed among writers, some making St. Peter, others St. Paul, the founder of that Church, but others, as hath been shewed, both of them; some making Clemens, others Linus, the first bishop after the Apostles, both affirmers speaking the truth, with this scholion to interpret them: Linus was the first bishop of the gentile Christians after St. Paul; Clemens the first of the Jewish after St. Peter; and after Linus'

[y] [Euseb. Eccl. Hist., lib. ii. cap. 25.]
[z] De Prom. et Prædict. Implend. [Dimid. Temp.] cap. 5.
[a] [p. 378. ed. Wats, fol. Lond. 1684.]

death, Cletus, or Anacletus, succeeding him, and dying also, both congregations were at length joined in one, under Clemens; by which one clue I suppose it easy to extricate the reader out of the mazes into which the ancient writers may lead him, in rehearsing the first bishops of Rome so very diversely, but this is not a place to insist on it.

12. By all which it appears that even in those Churches whereof St. Peter is acknowledged the founder, as that of Rome, and the like, yet he cannot be deemed the sole founder, but coequal to him St. Paul of the gentile, as he of the Jewish proselytes: and if the sole government of that Church be devolved to the original, it will be found to have begun in Clemens, in whom the union of the Jewish and gentile congregations there was first made, and not in St. Peter.

13. But then for another great part of the Christian world, it is manifest that St. Peter had never to do either mediately or immediately in the planting or governing of it, and consequently that from him that power can never descend to any other. Not to mention the travails, and labours, and plantations of the other Apostles, which certainly had each their κλήρους and ἰδίους τόπους, and consequently their provinces by apostolical joint consent assigned them, though that short history written by St. Luke, St. Paul's attendant, mention them not, I shall only insist on the beloved disciple his fellow-Apostle of the circumcision, and that abundant labourer St. Paul.

Acts i. [17. 25.]

14. For St. John, who had the favour of Christ, and the dignity of place before all others in Christ's life-time, even before St. Peter himself,—which is the plain meaning of his style of the "beloved disciple," and of the ἀνέπεσεν ἐν τῷ δείπνῳ ἐπὶ τὸ στῆθος αὐτοῦ, "leaning on His breast at supper," his having the πρωτοκλίσια, "the first place next to Christ," as being in Abraham's bosom plainly signifies being in dignity of place next to the father of the faithful,—it is evident that he is one of those that by agreement went to the circumcision, was assigned the Jews for his province, as well as St. Peter, and consequently he had the converting and the governing of all the converted Jews of that Lydian Asia, and placing bishops over them, as Clemens Alexan-

Not all the circumcision.

Not the Jews of Asia.

John xxi. 20.

CHAP. IV.

drinus, and Eusebius[a], and Prosper[b], and others tell us; and the author of the Martyrdom of Timothy saith of him[c], that being "returned from his banishment by Nerva's decree," *τῇ Ἐφεσίων ὑπέστη μητροπόλει καὶ αὐτὸς δι' ἑαυτοῦ, ἕπτα συμπαρόντων ἐπισκόπων τῆς Ἐφεσίων ἀντιλαμβάνεται μητροπόλεως*, "he placed his seat of residence in Ephesus, and having seven bishops with him he undertook the care of that metropolis," that is in effect, or by interpretation, of all Asia, which was under that prime metropolis, as far as extended to the Jewish Christians there.

15. But then as before was said of the several Churches and bishops in the same place, one of the dispersed Jews, the other of gentiles; so it is evident that through all this Asia (the Lydian or proconsular) the faith was by St. Paul planted among the gentile part, and by him St. Timothy constituted bishop there: and so saith St. Chrysostom[d], *ἔθνος ὁλόκληρον τὸ τῆς Ἀσίας ἦν ἐμπεπιστευμένος*, "a whole entire nation, that of Asia, was intrusted to him."

16. Where I shall demand of any man of the Romish pre-

[a] [*ἐπὶ τούτοις κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἔτι τῷ βίῳ περιλειπόμενος, αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ὃν ἠγάπα ὁ Ἰησοῦς, ἀπόστολος ὁμοῦ καὶ εὐαγγελιστὴς Ἰωάννης τὰς αὐτόθι διεῖπεν ἐκκλησίας, ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὴν νῆσον μετὰ τὴν Δομετιανοῦ τελευτὴν ἐπανελθὼν φυγῆς. ὅτι δὲ εἰς τούτους ἔτι τῷ βίῳ περιῆν, ἀπόχρη διὰ δύο πιστώσασθαι τὸν λόγον μαρτύρων. πιστοὶ δ' ἂν εἶεν οὗτοι, τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς πρεσβεύσαντες ὀρθοδοξίας, εἰ δὴ τοιοῦτοι Εἰρηναῖος καὶ Κλήμης ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεύς. ὧν ὁ μὲν πρότερος ἐν δευτέρῳ τῶν πρὸς τὰς αἱρέσεις ὧδέ πως γράφει κατὰ λέξιν· καὶ πάντες οἱ πρεσβύτεροι μαρτυροῦσιν, οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἰωάννῃ τῷ τοῦ Κυρίου μαθητῇ συμβεβληκότες, παραδεδωκέναι τὸν Ἰωάννην. παρέμεινε γὰρ αὐτοῖς μέχρι τῶν Τραϊανοῦ χρόνων. καὶ ἐν τρίτῳ δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς ὑποθέσεως ταὐτὸ τοῦτο δηλοῖ διὰ τούτων· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐκκλησία ὑπὸ Παύλου μὲν τεθεμελιωμένη, Ἰωάννου δὲ παραμείναντος αὐτοῖς μέχρι τῶν Τραϊανοῦ χρόνων, μάρτυς ἀληθὴς ἐστι τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων παραδόσεως. ὁ δὲ Κλήμης ὁμοῦ καὶ τὸν χρόνον ἐπισημηνάμενος, καὶ ἱστορίαν ἀναγκαιοτάτην οἷς τὰ καλὰ καὶ ἐπωφελῆ φίλον ἀκούειν προστίθησιν, ἐν ᾧ, τίς ὁ σωζόμενος πλούσιος, ἐπέγραψεν αὐτοῦ συγγράμματι. Λαβὼν δὲ ἀνάγνωθι ὧδέ πως ἔχουσαν καὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν γραφήν·* ἄκουσον μῦθον οὐ μῦθον, ἀλλὰ ὄντα λόγον, περὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἀποστόλου παραδεδομένον, καὶ μνήμῃ πεφυλαγμένον. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τοῦ τυράννου τελευτήσαντος ἀπὸ τῆς Πάτμου τῆς νήσου μετῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Ἔφεσον, ἀπῄει παρακαλούμενος καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ πλησιόχωρα τῶν ἐθνῶν, ὅπου μὲν ἐπισκόπους καταστήσων, ὅπου δὲ ὅλας ἐκκλησίας ἁρμόσων, ὅπου δὲ κλήρῳ ἕνα γέ τινα κληρώσων τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος σημαινομένων.— Euseb., Hist. Eccl., lib. iii. cap. 23.]

[b] [A quorum consortio alieni inveniuntur omnes hæretici qui relicta pace communionis et panis unius Dei et apostolorum, in suis non ecclesiis, sed plateis prædicant et eorum memoriis non communicant, separati a toto Catholicum sibi nomen asciscunt: cum in ipsa Hierusalem Jacobus et Stephanus primus martyr, Joannes apud Ephesum, Andreas et cæteri per totam Asiam, Petrus et Paulus Apostoli in urbe Roma gentium ecclesiam in qua Christi domini doctrinam erudierunt, pacatam unamque posteris tradentes, sanguine memoriisque suis ex dominica passione sacrarunt.—Prosperi de Prom. et Præd. Dimidium Temporis, cap. 5.]

[c] Phot. bib. num. 254.

[d] Hom. xv. in 1 Tim. v. 19.

tensions or persuasion, what can be said, in any degree probably, for St. Peter's universal pastorship, whilst he lived, over this Asia, whose seven metropoles,—and sure there were inferior Churches, or episcopal sees, under them,—are so early famous, being honoured with Christ's epistle to them in the Revelation; was St. Peter the supreme pastor of these Churches? had he any, or did he ever exercise, or pretend any jurisdiction over them? was not all the Jewish part of that province ultimately under St. John, and the gentile part under St. Paul, and St. Timothy constituted and commissionated by him? Doth not St. Paul give him full instructions,—and such as no other Apostle could countermand or interpose in them,—leaving no other appeal or place of application for further directions, save only to himself, when he shall "come to him?" Did not St. Paul by his own single power delegate that province to him, and seat him there?— as appears by the παρεκάλεσα πορευόμενος, "I exhorted" or "appointed thee, when I went to Macedonia,"—and may it not as reasonably be said that St. Peter was with him in his journey to Macedonia, as that he joined with him in giving that commission to Timothy?

1 Tim. iii. 14, 15.

1 Tim. i. 3.

17. And so likewise of Titus in Crete, was he not by St. Paul peculiarly left in Crete, and constituted primate there? Is it imaginable that under Christ there could be any head of that Church of that whole island, save only St. Paul?

Nor in Crete,

18. The same may certainly be said of all the gentile Churches in all other islands and parts of the world, and consequently in this of Brittany, wherein our present debate is terminated: and therefore if that of Symeon Metaphrastes[e] should be thought to have truth in it, that St. Peter was in Brittany some time, and baptized many into the faith of Christ, and constituted Churches, ordaining bishops, and presbyters, and deacons, in the 12th of Nero, in all reason it must be extended no farther than St. Peter's line, as he was the Apostle of the circumcision, i. e. to the Jews that might at that time be dispersed here, and so not prejudge the other

Nor in Brittany.

[e] De Petro et Paulo ad diem 29 Junii. [ap. Bolland. Acta Sanctorum] ἐπιμείνας [τε] ἐν Βρεταν[ί]ᾳ ἡμέρας τινὰς, καὶ πολλοὺς τῷ λόγῳ φωτίσας τῆς χάριτος, ἐκκλησίας τε συστησάμενος, ἐπισκόπους τε καὶ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διακόνους χειροτονήσας, δωδεκάτῳ ἔτει τοῦ [Καίσαρος] Νέρωνος, [αὖθις εἰς Ῥώμην παραγίνεται.]

CHAP. IV.

more authentic relations of Joseph of Arimathea or Simon Zelotes having planted the faith in this island.

19. This I suppose is one competent proof of the negative, as it respects the person of St. Peter, that he was not,—could not be as things stood with him,—universal pastor of the whole Church, constituted by Christ. And accordingly we see in Prosper[f] disputing against heretics, which divide from the Church, he expresses it by *relicta pace communionis, et panis unius Dei et Apostolorum,* "that they leave the communion of Christ and His Apostles" in the plural, and adds, *cum in ipsa Hierusalem Jacobus . . . Joannes apud Ephesum, Andreas et cæteri per totam Asiam, Petrus et Paulus Apostoli in urbe Roma, gentium Ecclesiam pacatam unamque posteris tradentes, ex dominica pactione sacrarunt,* that "James in Jerusalem, John at Ephesus, Andrew and the rest through all Asia, Peter and Paul at Rome consecrated the Church of the nations." Whereas the Church had the several Apostles for the founders, and those independent one from the other, so the unity from which heretics and schismatics depart is said to have been founded equally in each of them, in John, and James, and Andrew, and others, as well as in St. Peter, nay at Rome, not in St. Peter alone, but in him and St. Paul together.

Prosper's testimony to this matter.

A second evidence against St. Peter's supremacy from the donation of the keys. Matt. xvi. 19.

20. In the next place another evidence we may have of this, in reference again to St. Peter's person, from that which is visible in the donation of the power of the keys set down in Scripture. This power is promised to St. Peter, "I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven;" but to him that from hence pretends his donative and consequent power, as a peculiarity and inclosure of St. Peter's, these considerations will be of force to supersede his conclusion, 1. that these words here set down by St. Matthew are not the instrument of Christ's conveyance, the words of his commission, but those other, "As My Father hath sent Me, so send I you," upon which words it is added, "He breathed on them, and said, 'Receive the Holy Ghost, whose sins you remit, they are remitted.'" And these,—as also those Matt. xxviii. 19, which are a repetition much to the same purpose,—are delivered in common, and equally to all, and every of

John xx. 21.

Power of the keys given to all and each.

[f] Dimid. Temp., cap. 5.

the eleven Apostles, as is evident by the plural style throughout that commission.

21. Secondly, the words Matt. xvi. are only a promise in the future, what Christ will afterwards do, and so the donation there set down only by way of *πρόληψις*, or "anticipation," and if the making this promise to him peculiarly seem to make any thing for him, then the repetition of that promise, which is made to all the Apostles indefinitely, will take off that appearance, where it is *λέγω ὑμῖν*, and *ὅσα ἐὰν δήσητε*, "I say unto you," to all of them equally and without any peculiarity of restriction, "whatsoever ye shall bind," &c. The applying the words particularly to St. Peter hath one special energy in it, and concludes that the ecclesiastical power of economy or stewardship in Christ's house, of which the keys are the token, belongs to single persons, such as St. Peter was, and not only to consistories or assemblies, that whatsoever St. Peter acted by virtue of Christ's power thus promised, he should be fully able to act himself, without the conjunction of any other, and that what he thus did, *clave non errante*, no one, or more men, on earth could rescind without him, which is a just ground of placing the power ecclesiastical in single persons, and not in communities, in the prelate of each Church, and not in the presbytery. But still this is no confining of this power to St. Peter, any more than to any other single Apostle, who had this power as distinctly promised to each of them, as here St. Peter is pretended and acknowledged to have; to which purpose, as the words of Scripture are most clear,—and accordingly the promise is again made of twelve thrones for each Apostle to sit on one, to judge, i. e. to rule, or preside in the Church, and when that promise was finally performed in the descent of the Spirit, the fire that represented that Spirit was divided, and *ἐκάθισε*, "sat upon every one of them," without any peculiar mark allowed St. Peter, and they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and so this promise equally performed, as it was made to all,—so is this exactly the notion which the ancient fathers of the Church appear to have had of them. Thus Theophylact[g], according to St. Chrysostom's sense, *εἰ γὰρ*

Matt. xvi. [19.]

Matt. xviii. 18.

Isa. xxii. 21.

Matt. xviii. 18. Matt. xix. [28.]

Acts ii. [3.]

[g] [*ὡς Θεὸς, λέγει τὸ, δώσω σοι, ἐξουσιαστικῶς· ὡς γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ δέδωκέ σοι τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν, οὕτως ἐγὼ τὰς κλεῖς κλεῖδας δὲ νοήσεις τὰς δεσμούσας καὶ*

CHAP. IV.

καὶ πρὸς Πέτρον μόνον εἴρηται, τὸ, Δώσω σοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἀποστόλοις δέδοται, "Though the words 'I will give thee' were delivered to St. Peter alone, yet the power hath been conferred on all the Apostles." St. Cyprian[h] hath an eminent place to this purpose, *Dominus noster . . . episcopi honorem et ecclesiæ suæ rationem disponens in evangelio loquitur, et dicit Petro, Ego tibi dico, quia tu es Petrus, . . . et tibi dabo claves . . . Inde per temporum et successionum vices episcoporum ordinatio et Ecclesiæ ratio decurrit, ut Ecclesia super episcopos constituatur, et omnis actus Ecclesiæ per eosdem* [*præpositos*] *gubernetur;* "Christ meaning to set down the way of ordering His Church, saith unto Peter, 'I will give thee the keys.' . . . From this promise of His, the ordination of bishops and course of the Church hath continued by all successions and vicissitudes; so that the Church is built upon bishops (in the plural) and every ecclesiastic act is governed by them." So St. Ambrose[i], *Claves illas regni cœlorum* [*quas*] *in beato Petro* [*Apostolo*] *cuncti suscepimus sacerdotes,* "All we bishops have in St. Peter received those keys of the kingdom of heaven." And accordingly St. Athanasius[k] mentions the office of bishop as one of those things ἃ ὁ κύριος διὰ τῶν Ἀποστόλων τετύπωκε, "which Christ effigiated or formed in or by the Apostles." And St. Basil the Great[l] calls episcopacy προεδρίαν τῶν Ἀποστόλων, "the presidency of the Apostles," the very same that Christ bestowed upon all, and not only on one of them.

22. By all which it is evident again, that the power which Christ's commission instated on St. Peter, was in like manner intrusted to every other single Apostle as well as to him, and consequently that this of universal pastor was no personal privilege or peculiarity of St. Peter's.

The Romanists' argument from *Tu es Petrus* evacuated.

23. Thirdly, that argument which is taken by learned Romanists from the name of Peter,—πετρὸς, "a rock" or

λυούσας τὰς τῶν σφαλμάτων ἢ συγχωρήσεις ἢ ἐπιτιμήσεις· ἔχουσι γὰρ ἐξουσίαν ἀφιέναι καὶ δεσμεῖν οἱ κατὰ Πέτρον τῆς ἐπισκοπικῆς ἀξιωθέντες χάριτος· εἰ γὰρ καὶ πρὸς Πέτρον μόνον εἴρηται τὸ, δώσω σοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀποστόλοις, δέδοται· πότε; ὅτε εἶπεν, ἂν τινων ἀφῆτε τὰς ἁμαρτίας, ἀφίενται· καὶ γὰρ τὸ δώσω, μέλλοντα χρόνον σημαίνει, τουτέστι τὸν μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν.—Theophyl. in Matt. xvi. 18.]

[h] Epist. xxvii. [in init.]

[i] [S. Ambros. Supposit.] de dign. Sacerd. [cap. 1. tom. i. p. 358.]

[k] S. Athanas. Epist. ad Dracont. [cap. 3. tom. i. p. 265.]

[l] [αὐτός σε ὁ Κύριος ἀπὸ τῶν κριτῶν τῆς γῆς ἐπὶ τὴν καθέδραν (al. προεδρίαν) τῶν ἀποστόλων μετέθηκεν.—S. Basil. Epist. 197. (al. 55.) Ambrosio, p. 288.]

"foundation stone,"—bestowed on him by Christ, as if that were sufficient to found this pretended supremacy, is presently evacuated and retorted on the pretenders, when it is remembered, 1. that πέτρος, and πέτρα, directly the same, signifies vulgarly "a stone," (μυλοειδέϊ πέτρῳ, in Homer's Iliad, η. [270.]) and of itself denotes no more, but by the context, being applied to a building must needs signify a foundation stone; and then, 2. that all the twelve Apostles are in like manner,—and not he only, or above any other,—styled θεμέλιοι δώδεκα, "twelve foundations," each of which stones having the name of an Apostle on it, in respect of the power and dignity that belonged to every one, is severally compared to a precious stone; and it being there in vision apparent, that the wall of the city, i. e. of the Church, being measured exactly, was found to be an hundred and forty-four, i. e. twelve times twelve cubits, it is evident that that mensuration assigns an equal proportion whether of power or province to all and every of the Apostles, which is again a prejudice to the universal pastorship of any one of them.

CHAP. IV.

Matt. xvi. 18.

Rev. xxi. 14.

CHAP. V.

THE EVIDENCES FROM THE BISHOP OF ROME SUCCEEDING ST. PETER EXAMINED.

No privilege by succession from St. Peter, but as St. Peter is proved to have himself.

1. From this argument of the pretenders as it respects St. Peter's person, and hath been thus manifested to be utterly incompetent to infer the designed conclusion, it is now very easy, but withal very unnecessary, to proceed to the other part of it, as it concerns St. Peter's successors in his episcopal, or, which is all one as to this matter, his apostolical seat and power at Rome; for certainly what he had not himself, he cannot devolve to any of his successors upon that one score of succeeding him, and therefore as this of St. Peter's personal power and eminence is the principal, so it is in effect the only ground of the Romanists' pretensions, this other of derivative power in his successor being like water that flows from a spring, apt to ascend no higher than the fountain stood, and therefore I again think fit to remind

CHAP. V.

the Romanist, and peremptorily to insist on this exception, that if he cannot make good St. Peter's ecumenical power and pastorship over all the rest of the Apostles from the donation of Christ,—which I suppose hath been evidenced he cannot do, and for any proofs made use of by any to that purpose, and drawn either from "Feed My sheep," and "lambs," or from the mention of the two swords, or from "Thou art Peter," they have so little appearance of strength in them, and have so often been answered by those of our persuasion, that I cannot think it useful or seasonable to descend to any further survey of them,—his other pretensions are at an end for the universal pastorship of the pope, his successor, whose power and authority over all other bishops cannot further be extended,—upon this account of succession,—than St. Peter's was over all other Apostles, the several bishops of the world holding from (as succeeding) some Apostle or other, as certainly as the bishop of Rome can by any be supposed to succeed St. Peter, according to that of Tertullian[m], *Sicut Smyrnæorum Ecclesia Polycarpum a Joanne collocatum refert, sicut Romanorum Clementem a Petro ordinatum edit, perinde utique et cæterœ exhibent quos ab Apostolis in episcopatum constitutos Apostolici seminis traduces habent;* "As the records of the Church of Smyrna deduce Polycarp their bishop from St. John, and as the Church of Rome relates that Clement, their bishop, was ordained by St. Peter, in like manner the rest of the Churches shew us the bishops which they have had constituted by the Apostles, and who have brought down and derived the apostolic seed unto them."

The privileges attending St. Peter's successor belonging rather to the bishop of Antioch than of Rome.

2. What therefore I shall now add in return to the second branch of this argument, concerning the power of St. Peter's successor, as such, will be perfectly *ex abundanti*, "more than needs," and so I desire it may be looked on by the reader, whose curiosity perhaps may require further satisfaction when his reason doth not; and in compliance therewith I shall propose these few considerations. First, whether St. Peter did not as truly plant a Church of Jewish believers at Antioch, and leave a successor bishop there, as at Rome he is supposed to have done? 2. whether this were not done

[m] De Præscript., cap. 32.

by him before ever he came to Rome? 3. whether the concession of these two unquestioned matters of fact do not devolve all power and jurisdiction on the bishop of Antioch, St. Peter's successor there, which by that tenure and claim of succession from St. Peter can be pretended to by the bishop of Rome, St. Peter's successor also? Nay, whether the right of primogeniture be not so much more considerable on this side than any circumstance on the other side which can be offered to counterbalance it; that he which succeeded him in his first seat, Antioch, is, if there be force in the argument of succession, to be looked on as the chief of his strength, partaker of more power by virtue of that succession, than he that afterward succeeded him at Rome? CHAP. V.

3. This we know, that anciently there were three patriarchates, and Antioch was one of them, as Rome was another; and though I, who lay not that weight on the argument of succession from St. Peter, am not engaged to affirm that Antioch was the chief of these, yet this I contend, that there is much less reason that any precedence which is afforded Rome by the ancient canons should be deemed imputable to this succession from St. Peter, when it is evident that claim belongs to Antioch as well as to Rome, and first to Antioch, and afterwards to Rome, and no otherwise to Rome than as it was first competible to Antioch.

4. Of Rome it is confessed that the primacy of dignity or order belonged to that, the next place to Alexandria, the third to Antioch, which is an evidence that the succession from St. Peter was not considered in this matter, for then Alexandria, which held only from St. Mark, must needs have yielded to Antioch which held from St. Peter. The original of this precedence or dignity of the bishop of Rome is sure much more fitly deduced by the fourth general council holden at Chalcedon [n], confirming the decree of the council of Constantinople, that that see shall have ἴσα πρεσβεῖα, "equal privileges," and dignities, and advantages with Rome, upon this account, that Constantinople was new Rome, and the seat of the empire at that time; which, say they, was the reason,—and not any donation of Christ's to St. Peter, or succession of that bishop from him,—that Rome enjoyed such

The primacy belonged to Rome upon another score.

[n] [See note u, p. 226.]

CHAP. V.

privileges,—καὶ γὰρ τῷ θρόνῳ πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην οἱ πατέρες εἰκότως ἀποδεδώκασι τὰ πρεσβεῖα,—and therefore τῷ αὐτῷ σκόπῳ κινούμενοι, "the fathers at Constantinople being moved with the same reasons had rightly judged that now the same privileges should belong to that Church or city," καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς ὡς ἐκείνην μεγαλύνεσθαι πράγμασι δευτέραν μετ' ἐκείνην ὑπάρχουσαν, and that this being next to old Rome should in all ecclesiastical affairs have the same dignity or greatness that old Rome had. Where, as the original of the dignity of that see is duly set down, and, which is observable, in the whole contest never so much as quarrelled at by the legates, viz., the residence of the imperial majesty there,—a thing very remarkable in the several degrees of dignity in the Church, that of patriarchs, primates, archbishops, bishops, which generally observed their proportions with the civil state, as hath been shewed,—so is the nature of it also no supremacy of power over all the bishops of the world,—for that monarchical power is not at once competible to two equals or rivals,—and with all the moveableness or communicableness of that dignity, as that which may follow the imperial seat, whithersoever it is removeable, and is not fixed at Rome by any commission of Christ or succession from St. Peter.

The canon of the council of Chalcedon rejected by the Romanists.

5. But because I shall suppose that a canon, though of an universal council, when it is found thus derogatory to the height which Rome now pretends to, shall not by the Romanist be acknowledged to be authentic, as wanting that which the Romanist makes absolutely necessary to the validity of councils or canons, the suffrage of the bishop of Rome and consent of his legates; and because I mean not here to go out of my way to vindicate, which I could very readily do, the authority of that canon, or to shew the strangeness of this dealing, not to admit any testimony against them, but wherein they have given their own suffrage,—a method of security beyond all amulets, if no man shall be believed against me, till I have joined with him to accuse and condemn myself,—I shall therefore lay no more weight on this than will, without this support, be otherwise upheld, and is in some measure evident by the Romanists' rejecting this canon, and adding that the Church of Antioch rejected it

also; which argues that that which the Church of Constantinople was willing to acquire by this decree was as derogatory to the dignity of Antioch as of Rome. And as that concludes that Antioch had professedly the ἴσα πρεσβεῖα, "equal privileges" with Rome, the dignity of a patriarchate, and the attendants and pomps of that; so it proceeds on a concession, that all that Constantinople wanted, or in which this new came short of the old Rome, was only the dignity of a patriarchate, without any ordinary jurisdiction over other Churches. Which again shews us what was the nature of the pre-eminence of the Roman see at that time; no supreme authoritative power over other primates, but only a precedence or priority of place in councils, an eminence in respect of dignity, which is perfectly reconcilable with the αὐτοκεφαλία and independence, the no-subordination or subjection of other primates.

The dignity of patriarchs reconcilable with the independency of primates.

6. This hath formerly been manifested, when we discoursed of the original, and power, and dignity of primates and patriarchs, and is put beyond all control by that canon of the council of Ephesus[o] in the cause of the archbishop of Cyprus, over whom the patriarch of Antioch, though patriarch of all the orient, was adjudged to have no manner of power. And this independency of Cyprus, not only from the patriarch of Antioch, but from all others whomsoever, was contested then, as from the Apostles' times, and asserted and vindicated by that council, and order given indefinitely against all invasions from time to come in whatever diocese, that no bishop shall encroach upon another's province, or usurp a power where, from the Apostles' times, he had not enjoyed it; which how directly it (is applicable to, and) prejudgeth the pretensions of Rome, as well as of Antioch, is so manifest that it cannot need further demonstrating.

The canon of Ephesus against encroaching on any other's province.

7. Of the same kind, two further instances I shall here add; first of the archbishop of Carthage, who being the chief primate or metropolitan,—for these two words in the African style, different from the usage of other Churches, are observable to signify the same thing,—in Africa, i. e. in one of the thirteen dioceses of the empire, appears to have been independent from all other power, an absolute primate,

Instances of independent power in archbishops.

[o] [See note g, p. 230.]

CHAP. V.

subject to no superior or patriarch, whether of Alexandria or Rome. This is evident by Justinian in the 131st Novel, where the emperor gives the same privileges to the archbishop of Carthage which he had formerly given to the bishop of *Justiniana prima*[p]; which being the second example I meant to mention, I shall briefly shew what that prerogative was which equally belonged to these two.

8. *Justiniana prima* was the head of Dacia the new; a diocese,—as that signifies more than a province, a primate's, a patriarch's dominion,—erected by Justinian the emperor; and that city thus dignified as the place where he had been born[q], the archbishop thereof made primate of all that diocese. This is thus expressed in the Imperial Constitutions Nov. 11, that he shall have *omnem censuram ecclesiasticam, summum sacerdotium, summum fastigium, summam dignitatem,* "all power of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the supreme priesthood, supreme honour and dignity;" and in the Constitutions set out by

[p] καὶ τὸν ὅμοιον τρόπον τὸ δίκαιον τῆς Ἀρχιερωσύνης ὅπερ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ τῆς Ἰουστινιανῆς Καρχηδόνος τῆς Ἀφρικῆς διοικήσεως δεδώκαμεν, ἐξ οὗπερ ὁ Θεὸς ταύτην ἡμῖν ἀποκατέστησε φυλάττεσθαι κελεύομεν.—[Tit. xiv. Novel. 131. cap. 4.]

[q] [The whole passage, as it occurs in the Lyons edition of 1627, is as follows: Multis et variis modis nostram patriam augere cupientes, in qua prima Deus præstitit nobis ad hunc mundum quem ipse condidit venire, [et circa sacerdotalem censuram eam] volumus [maximis incrementis ampliare], ut primæ Justinianæ patriæ nostræ pro tempore sacrosanctus antistes non solum metropolitanus sed etiam archiepiscopus fiat [et terræ provinciæ sub ejus sint auctoritate, i. e. tam ipsa mediterranea Dacia, quam Dacia Ripensis, nec non Mysia secunda Dardania, et Prævalitana provincia et secunda Macedonia, et pars secunda etiam Pannoniæ, quæ in Bacensi est civitate. . . . Cum igitur in præsenti, Deo auctore, ita nostra respublica aucta est ut utraque ripa Danubii jam nostris civitatibus frequentetur et tam Viminacium quam Recidua et Litterata quæ trans Danubium sunt, nostræ iterum ditioni subjectæ sint,] necessarium duximus ipsam gloriosissimam præfecturam quæ in Pannonia erat in nostra felicissima patria collocare. . . . Et ideo tua beatitudo et omnes præfatæ primæ Justinianæ sacrosancti antistites archiepiscopi habeant prærogativam et omnem licentiam, suam auctoritatem eis impertiri, et eos ordinare et in omnibus suprascriptis provinciis primam habere dignitatem, summum sacerdotium, summum fastigium, a te decernantur et te solum archiepiscopum habeant, nulla communione adversus eos Thessalonicensi episcopo servanda: sed tu ipse et omnes primæ Justinianæ antistites sint ejus judices et disceptatores, quodcunque nascetur inter eos discriminis ipsi hoc dirimant et finem ei imponant et eos ordinent neque ad alium quendam eatur, sed suum agnoscant archiepiscopum omnes prædictæ provinciæ et ejus sentiant creationem et vel per se vel per suam auctoritatem vel clericos mittendos habeat omnem potestatem, omnemque sacerdotalem censuram et creationis licentiam. . . . Quando autem tuæ sedis gubernatorem ab hac luce decedere contigerit, pro tempore archiepiscopum ejus a venerabili suo concilio metropolitanorum ordinari sancimus, quemadmodum decet archiepiscopum omnibus honoratum in ecclesiis provehi, nulla penitus Thessalonicensi episcopo neque ad hoc communione servanda.—Authenticorum Collatio secunda, De privileg. Archiep., &c. tit. vi. Novel. 11.]

Gothofred out of an old MS. copy, *Tu et omnes Justinianæ primæ Antistites, quicquid oriatur inter eos discrimen, ipsi hoc dirimant, et finem eis imponant, et nec ad alium quendam eatur, sed suum agnoscant archiepiscopum omnes prædictæ provinciæ,* "that all the provinces shall in the last resort make their appeal to him for all controversies." And Nov. 131, c. 3, that in all that diocese he shall have *locum apostolicæ sedis,* "the place or dignity of an apostolical seat;" which gave Nicephorus occasion, in his relation of this matter, to affirm that the emperor made it a free city, and *αὐτοκέφαλον,* "an head unto itself," with full power independent from all others: and though the first bishop thereof was consecrated by Vigilius, bishop of Rome, as by some bishop it is certain he must, yet that is of no force against the conclusion to which I design this instance, it being evident that being consecrated, he was absolute, and depended not on any, and his successors were to be ordained by his council of metropolitans [r] and not by the pope.

9. Which, as it makes a second instance of the point in hand, so when it is remembered that all this independent absolute power was conferred upon this city,—the emperor's favourite,—only by his making it a primate's or chief metropolitan's see, and that Carthage's being the prime metropolis of Africa, is expressed by having the same privileges that *Justiniana prima* had, it will follow,—what is most certain, and might otherwise be testified by innumerable evidences,—that every primate or chief metropolitan was absolute within his own circuit, neither subject nor subordinate to any foreign superior, whether pope or patriarch; and that was all which was useful, much more than was necessary, to be here demonstrated. And being so, there remains to the see of Rome no further claim to the subjection of this island, nor appearance of proof of the charge of schism, in casting off that yoke, upon this first score of St. Peter's or his successors' right to the universal pastorship.

The unreasonableness of confining the Catholic Church

10. Upon this head of discourse depends also all that is or can be said for the confining the Catholic Church to the number of those who live in obedience to the Roman Church or bishop. For if there have been from the Apostles' times

[r] Ibid. *αὐτόνδε ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας συνόδου χειροτονεῖσθαι.* Novel. 131. [cap. 3.]

CHAP. V.

to the number of those that live in the Roman subjection.

an independent power vested in each primate or chief metropolitan, as hath been evidently shewn, then how can it be necessary to the being of a member of the Catholic Church to be subject to that one primate? It is certainly sufficient to the conservation of the unity of the whole Church, that every one pay an obedience where an obedience is due, and no way useful toward that end that those that are born free should resign up, divest themselves of that privilege, and become *αὐθαίρετοι δουλοὶ*, "servants" or "subjects" of their "own making." But I shall not enlarge on this matter, but conclude with that of our bishops in convocation, A. C. 1537, in their book intitled, "The Institution of a Christian man:" that "it was many hundred years before the bishop of Rome could acquire any power of a primate over any other bishops which were not within his province in Italy; and that the bishops of Rome do now transgress their own profession made in their creation; for all the bishops of Rome always when they be consecrated and made bishops of that see, do make a solemn profession and vow[s] that they shall inviolably observe all the ordinances made in the eight first general councils, among which it is especially provided, that all causes shall be determined within the province where they be begun, and that by the bishops of the same province; which absolutely excludes all papal, i. e. foreign power, out of these realms."

[s] [Item] ex diurno libro, professio Romani pontificis.

[*Auctoritate Romani pontificis sancta octo concilia roborantur.*

Sancta octo universalia concilia, id est primum Nicænum, secundum Constantinopolitanum, tertium Ephesinum, quartum Chalcedonense, item quintum Constantinopolitanum et sextum; item Nicænum septimum, octavum quoque Constantinopolitanum usque ad unum apicem immutilata servare, et pari honore et veneratione digna habere, et quæ prædicaverunt et statuerunt modis omnibus sequi et prædicare; quæque condemnaverunt, ore et corde condemnare profiteor.]—Corp. Jur. Decret. par. i. distinct. 16. cap. 8.

CHAP. VI.

THEIR SECOND PLEA, FROM THE BISHOP OF ROME HAVING PLANTED CHRISTIANITY AMONG US.

1. THE next part of the Romanists' arguing against us is taken from a peculiar right or claim that the bishop or see of Rome hath to our obedience, upon the score of having planted Christianity among us.

2. But before I proceed to shew the invalidity of this plea, I desire it may first be observed, that the pleading of this, as the title by which the bishop of Rome hath right to our subjection, is absolutely irreconcilable with his former pretensions founded in his œcumenical pastorship by succession to St. Peter; for certainly he that is supposed in gross to have that original title to all power over all Churches, cannot be imagined to acquire it afterward by way of retail over any particular Church. He that claims a reward, as of his own labour and travail, must be supposed to disclaim donation, which is antecedent to and exclusive of the other, as the title of descent is to that of conquest; and it is a very great prejudice to the justice of his pretensions, who finds it necessary to mix things that are so incompatible.

The plea from planting the faith irreconcilable with the former.

3. And therefore I am obliged to offer this dilemma to the Romanist in this place, and to demand, which is the pope's true title to the subjection of this island? the donation of Christ, or conversion wrought by Augustine the monk? If the latter be affirmed to be it, then it must be granted by him, both that this island before the time of Pope Gregory was no way subjected to the Roman see, and withal that no Christian nation is at this day thus subject, but such as doth appear to have been converted by Rome, as the Saxons here are supposed to have been; and then this concession will lose more subjects to the apostolic see, than the return of these islands to the desired subjection would ever be able to countervail or recompense; and therefore it is reasonable to insist on the terms of this bargain, and not to yield the one till the other be yielded to us; but if the former be affirmed

A dilemma to the Romanist.

CHAP. VI.

to be it, and that indeed the commission from Christ to St. Peter be still the fundamental hold by which our subjection is and always hath been due to his successors, then is that other of the conversion by Augustine but a fallacious pretence, a *non causa pro causâ*, to amuse us, and need not further be answered or invalidated than by this confession.

The faith planted here before Augustine the monk.

4. But then passing by this advantage, and taking the objection as it lies by itself, these further considerations will take off all force from it. 1. That this island was converted to the faith of Christ long before Augustine's preaching to the Saxons, either in or very near the Apostles' times, in Tiberius' reign, saith Gildas[u], and long before Tertullian's[x] and Origen's time, as by them appears[y]. To this I shall not need to add the testimony of Eleutherius the bishop of Rome, in the vulgar Epistle to our Lucius, the first Christian king of the world, styling him *vicarium Dei in regno suo*, "God's vicegerent in his own kingdom," because, as there is some doubt of the authenticness of that Epistle, so the only thing that we have now need to conclude from it[z], is otherwise evident, viz., "that the nation was in his time converted," and so long before Augustine's coming. And though by Dioclesian's persecution, Christianity were here shrewdly shaken, yet I suppose that will not be thought argumentative, both because it might be of ill example against other nations, where the faith was as bloodily persecuted in that or other times, and possibly at some point of time against

[u] [A translation of Gildas had recently been published anonymously. London. 12mo. 1652. It is a reprint of Habington's translation, first published in 1638. Hammond probably quotes from this; it being apparently his habit to procure most theological books as they were published. The passage referred to is at p. 13 of this edition.]

[x] [Tertull. adv. Jud., cap. 7.]

[y] [Quid necesse est dicere de apostolis et prophetis, cum de Domini adventu scriptum sit, *Omnis terra clamat cum lætitia?* Confitentur et miserabiles Judæi hæc de Christi præsentia prædicari, sed stulte ignorant personam cum videant impleta quæ dicta sunt. Quando enim terra Britanniæ ante adventum Christi in unius Dei consensit religionem? Quando terra Maurorum? Quando totus semel orbis? Nunc vero propter ecclesias quæ mundi limites tenent, universa terra cum lætitia clamat ad Dominum Israel, et capax est bonorum secundum fines suos.]—Orig. in Ezech. Hom. iv. [tom. iii. p. 370.]

[z] Suscepistis [enim] nuper [miseratione divina] in regno Britanniæ legem et fidem Christi; [habetis penes vos in regno utramque paginam; ex illis Dei gratia per consilium regni vestri sume legem, et per illam Dei potentia vestrum reges Britanniæ regnum. Vicarius vero Dei estis in regno juxta prophetam regem, *Domini est terra et plenitudo ejus, orbis terrarum et universi qui inhabitant in eo.*—Spelman, Concil., tom. i. p. 34.]

CHAP. VI.

And not quite destroyed by Dioclesian.

Rome itself, where St. Peter's chair was not always amulet sufficient to avoid the like destructions, and especially because it is evident that the British Church survived that calamity, and began to flourish again, saith Bede[a]. Their Churches, saith he, "were rebuilt, holy days celebrated, the memories of their martyrs erected, and the offices of the Church duly performed;" which further appears by authentic testimonies, three of our bishops being ten years after that present,—and their names subscribed, Eborius of York, Restitutus of London, and Adelfius Coloniæ Londinensium,—at the council of Arles, eleven years before the first council of Nice[b]. So likewise at the time of that Nicene council it appears that as Brittany was one of the six dioceses of the west empire[c], so there were in it three metropolitans, the bishop of York, his province *maxima Cæsariensis;* the bishop of London, his province *Britannia prima;* the bishop of Caeruske, his province *Britannia secunda,* in Monmouthshire, which after in King Arthur's time was translated to St. David's, where it continued an archbishopric till King Henry I., who subjected it to Canterbury, and all this space of about five hundred years after Augustine's coming, the bishops thereof, eleven in number, were all consecrated by the suffragan bishops of that province, without any profession or subjection to any other Church, as the Annals there affirm[d].

[a] [Hist. Eccl.] lib. i. c. 8.

[b] [Eborius episcopus de civitate Eboracensi, provincia Britannia; Restitutus episcopus de civitate Londinensi provincia supra scripta; Adelfius episcopus de civitate Colonia Londinensium.—Labbe, tom. i. p. 1430.]

[c] See Notitia Provinc. Occident.

[d] See Sir Henry Spelman, Concil. Anglic., p. 26, out of the Annals of Gisburne. [Placeat ut ad memoriam et honorem vetustissimæ istius metropoliticæ ecclesiæ, quæ a triplici sede, primum Caerlegionensis, postea Landavensis, et mox inde Menevensis sanctique Davidis nuncupata est, ea referam quæ ad finem belle manuscripti codicis Annalium Gisburnensium deprehendi, in hunc modum, viz., Ab urbe legionum (vulgo olim Caerleon) usque ad Meneviam, quæ est ad occidentem Demeciæ supra mare Hibernicum sita, translata est sedes metropolitana, tempore S. David archiepiscopi per regem Arthurum: ubi steterunt tredecim archiepiscopi usque Sampsonem. Hic etiam ingruente flava peste per Cambriam (quam ictericiam vocant) sumpto secum pallio armorum Britanniam adiit: et sede Dolansi præsedit; a quo tempore] usque ad tempus Henrici primi regis Anglorum, sederunt Meneviæ (quæ nunc David dicitur) undecim episcopi pallio carentes (forte paupertatis causa) cum tamen usque ad hoc tempus episcopi Meneviæ a suis suffraganeis Wallensibus ibidem fuerunt consecrati; nulla penitus professione vel subjectione facta alteri ecclesiæ. [Cæteri succedentes episcopi, regio urgente mandato, Cantuariæ consecrationem suscipiunt, in cujus subjectionis signum Bonifacius Cantuariæ archiepiscopus, tempore

CHAP. VI.

The Britons' rejection of the bishop of Rome.

5. To the same purpose is it, that when Augustine required subjection to the pope and Church of Rome, the abbot of Bangor is recorded to have returned him this answer[e], *Notum sit vobis quod nos omnes sumus . . .* "Be it known unto you, that we are all subject and obedient to the Church of God and the pope of Rome, but so as we are also to every pious and good Christian, viz., to love every one in his degree and place, in perfect charity, and to help every one by word and deed to attain to be the sons of God;" *et aliam obedientiam quam istam non scio debitam ei quem vos nominatis esse papam, nec esse patrem patrum vindicari et postulari,* "and for any other obedience I know none due to him whom you call the pope, and as little do I know by what right he can challenge to be father of fathers, bishop of bishops or universal bishop." *Præterea nos sumus sub gubernatione episcopi Caerlegionensis super Osca . . .* "As for us, we are under the rule of the bishop of Caerlegion upon Usk, who is to overlook and govern us under God."

The invalidity of the argument from conversion, when the Britons were certainly not converted by Augustine.

6. From hence the result is clear, that whatever is pretended from Augustine the monk, or supposed to have been then pressed by him for the advancing of the pope's interest in this island, and concluding us guilty of schism in casting off that yoke, yet the British bishops still holding out against this pretension, and that with all reason on their side, if the title of conversion, which the Romanist pleads for our subjection, may be of any validity with him, it must needs follow that the whole island cannot upon this score of Augustine's conversion be now deemed schismatical, it being certain that the whole island, and particularly the dominion of Wales, was not thus converted by Augustine, nor formerly by any

Henrici secundi in ecclesiis cathedralibus Kambriæ, primus omnium Cantuariensium archiepiscoporum missam solenniter celebravit: ita quod hodie in tota Anglia duo tantum sunt primates, scil. Cantuariensis, et Eboracensis.]

[e] [Notum sit et absque dubitatione vobis, quod nos omnes sumus et quilibet nostrum obedientes et subditi ecclesiæ Dei, et papæ Romæ, et unicuique vero et pio Christiano ad amandum unumquemque in suo gradu in perfecta charitate, et ad juvandum unumquemque eorum, verbo et facto fore filios Dei: et aliam obedientiam quam istam non scio debitam, ei quem vos nominatis esse papam, nec esse patrem patrum: vindicari et postulari, et istam obedientiam nos sumus parati dare et solvere ei et cuique Christiano continuo. Præterea nos sumus sub gubernatione episcopi Caerlegionis super Osca, qui est ad supervidendum sub Deo super nobis, ad faciendum nos servare viam spiritualem.—Ibid., pp. 108, 109.]

sent from Rome, or that observed the Roman order,—as appears by the observation of Easter, contrary to the usage received at Rome,—but either by Joseph of Arimathea or Simon Zelotes, as our Annals tell us most probably. And this in the first place must needs be yielded to by those that expect to receive any advantage to their cause by this argument; and if they will still extend their title equally to those parts of Britanny which Augustine did not, as to those which he did convert, to Wales as well as to Kent, it is evident they must do it upon some other score, whatsoever the pretence be, and not upon this of conversion.

No title from conversion for subjection.

7. But then, secondly, for as much of this island as was really converted to the faith by the coming of Augustine, there is no title for their subjection, and the perpetual subjection of their posterity from this.

8. To examine this a while by other known practices of the Christian world, St. Paul by himself or his apostles, or procurators, was the great converter of the gentiles; concerning him I shall demand, whether all those nations converted by him and his ministers are to all ages obliged to be subject to that chair where St. Paul sat,—whether in the Church at Antioch, or Rome, or the like,—at the time of his sending out, or going himself to convert them; if so, then, 1. there cannot be a greater prejudice imaginable to St. Peter's universal pastorship; and 2. it will in the story of the fact appear to have no degree of truth in it; Timothy that was placed over Asia in Ephesus, and Titus over Crete, being, as hath formerly appeared, supreme in those provinces, and independent from any other see. And generally that is the nature of primates or patriarchs, to have no superior either to ordain or exercise jurisdiction over them, but themselves to be absolute within their province, and their successors to be ordained by the suffragan bishops under them; which could not be if every such Church where such a primate was placed were subject to that Church from which they received the faith.

The power of kings to erect patriarchates.

9. To put this whole matter out of controversy, it is, and hath always been in the power of Christian emperors and princes within their dominions to erect patriarchates, or to translate them from one city to another, and therefore what-

CHAP. VI.

ever title is supposable to be acquired by the pope in this island upon the first planting of the gospel here, this cannot so oblige the kings of England ever since, but that they may freely remove that power from Rome to Canterbury, and subject all the Christians of this island to the spiritual power of that archbishop or primate independently from any foreign bishop.

Examples in Justiniana Prima, cap. v. sect. 8.

10. For the erection of primacies or patriarchates, that of *Justiniana prima* forementioned, and set down at large, is an evident proof, Justinian erecting that,—long after the rest of the primates' seats in the empire,—to be an archiepiscopal see absolute and independent, and subjecting all Dacia the New to it; and though the pope Vigilius was by the emperor appointed to ordain the first bishop there, yet were his successors to be ordained by his own metropolitans, and the bishops under him not to appeal to any others, as hath in each particular formerly been evidenced.

Carthage.

11. The same also hath in like manner been shewn of Carthage, which was by the same Justinian (not originally dignified, but) after the rescuing it out of the Vandals' hands[f], restored to a state of primacy, after the pattern or image of *Justiniana prima*, and two provinces more annexed than had anciently belonged to that bishop's jurisdiction.

Ravenna.

12. Before either of these, the Emperor Valentinian III., A.C. 432, by his rescript constituted Ravenna a patriarchal seat; and from his time that held the patriarchate, without any dependence on the bishop of Rome, to the time of Constantinus Pogonatus. And though at that time the Greek emperor's *vicarii* or exarchs being not able to support the bishop of Ravenna against the Longobards, he was fain to fly for support to the bishop of Rome, and so submitted himself unto him; and after Reparatus, the next bishop Theodorus did the like to Pope Agatho, whether upon the score of great friendship with him, or in despite to his own clergy, with whom he had variance, saith Sabellicus; yet the people of Ravenna thought themselves injured hereby, and joined with their next bishop, Felix, to maintain their privilege, though Pope Constantine stirring up Justinian Ῥινότμητος

[f] ἐξ οὗπερ ὁ Θεὸς ταύτην ἡμῖν ἀποκατέστησε.—Novella 131. [Auth. Collat. ix. tit. 14. p. 184.]

against them, they were worsted, and defeated in their attempt.

13. Other examples there are of this kind. Balsamon points at some which from the emperor's charter[g] had this privilege, not to be subject to the patriarch of Constantinople, calling them *αὐτοκέφαλοι ἀρχιεπίσκοποι*, which were "archbishops independent." So under Phocas, the patriarchate of Grado in Italy was erected, saith Warnefridus *de gestis Longobard.*[h] Others, as Eginhartus[i], chancellor to Charles the Great, and who wrote his life, say it was done by Charles the Great. And so doth Rhegino, who lived in the next age. And accordingly in Duarenus[k] *de Benef.*, lib. i. cap. 9, among the *minorum gentium patriarchatus*, that of Grado is reckoned for one, and joined with Aquileia, Canterbury, and Bourges. Grado.

14. And that it was a frequent usage in the east may appear by the twelfth canon of the council of Chalcedon[l], where we find mention of *πόλεις διὰ γραμμάτων βασιλικῶν τῷ τῆς μητροπόλεως ὀνόματι τιμηθεῖσαι*, "cities honoured by letters patent from the kings or emperors with the name and dignity of metropoles," and where the council represses the ambition of bishops, which sought those privileges *διὰ πραγματικῶν*, "by rescripts from the emperors," and censures it, in them that so sought it, as *παρὰ τοὺς ἐκκλησιαστικοὺς θεσμούς*, "not agreeable to the ecclesiastical canons," repressing the ambition of the bishops, but not cassating the rescripts, Frequent in the east.

[g] *ἀπὸ φιλοτιμίας βασιλικῆς ἰδικῆς τοῦτο τὸ δίκαιον λαβόντων.*—De privileg. Patriar. [ap. Leunclav. Jur. Græco-Rom., tom. i. p. 445.]

[h] [His diebus defuncto Severo Patriarcha, ordinatur Johannes Abbas Patriarcha in Aquileia vetere cum consensu regis et Gisulfi ducis. In Gradus quoque ordinatus est Romanis Candidianus antistes. Rursum mense Novembrio et Decembrio, stella cometes apparuit. Candidiano quoque defuncto apud Gradus, ordinatur Patriarcha Epiphanius qui fuerat primicerius notariorum, ab episcopis qui erant sub Romanis; et ex illo tempore cœperunt duo esse Patriarchæ.—Warnefridus, de Gestis Longobard., lib. iv. cap. 34.]

[i] [See Eginhartus, de vita et gestis Caroli Magni, 4to. Traj. ad Rhen. 1711. cap. xxxiii. p. 143, where the author mentions Grado amongst other metropolitan cities, but says nothing about its having been erected into a patriarchate by Charlemagne.]

[k] [Alii non uni provinciæ sed multis præfecti sunt, et in omnes non solum episcopos sed etiam archiepiscopos, potestatem habent, ideoque primates seu patriarchæ dicti sunt. Hi sunt numero quatuor, præter Romanum episcopum qui vertex omnium et princeps esse dicitur de quo mox videbimus, Constantinopolitanus, Alexandrinus, Antiochenus, Hierosolymitanus. Quibus et alii quidam veluti minorum gentium patriarchæ adjecti sunt, Aquileiensis, Cantuariensis, Biturigensis et Gradensis.—Duarenus, de Sacris Ecclesiæ Ministeriis ac Beneficiis, lib. i. cap. 9. p. 11. ed. Lond. 1585.]

[l] [p. 337.]

CHAP. VI. nor withdrawing the honour from the metropolis so erected. Of this canon Balsamon saith[m], that when it was made many emperors had erected many metropolitans, and naming three, adds, καὶ ἄλλαι ἐπισκοπαὶ ἐτιμήθησαν, that "other bishoprics were thus honoured," and that the emperors did it κατὰ τὴν δοθεῖσαν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν, "according to the power that was given them." Where it is further to be observed, 1. that this council was within twenty years after that grant of Valentinian, and consequently, if Balsamon say right, that at that time many emperors had erected many, there must needs be others before Valentinian; 2. that the seventeenth canon of the council of Chalcedon doth more expressly attribute this power to the prince[n], εἰ δὲ καί τις ἐκ βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας ἐκαινίσθη πόλις, ἢ αὖθις καινισθείη, τοῖς πολιτικοῖς καὶ δημοσίοις τύποις, καὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν παροικιῶν ἡ τάξις ἀκολουθείτω, "if a city be built or restored by the king's power, let the ecclesiastical order follow the political." And the same power is acknowledged to belong to the prince by the council in Trullo, can. 38. And then, 3. that these two last canons are reconciled with that twelfth of Chalcedon, by the law of Alexius Comnenus, and assented to by the synod under him. See Balsam. in can. 38, Concil. in Trullo[o], who concludes that the king might do it αὐθόρμητος γεγονὼς, "upon his own incitation or motion, but it should not be lawful for any by base solicitation to seek or obtain it," adding that in that case, "upon any such rescript of the emperor for such erection, it might be lawful for the patriarch to suspend the confirmation of the charter until he represented to the emperor what the canons were in that case, and understood if the emperor did it οἴκοθεν [ὁρμηθεὶς] from his own motion, which appearing, the patriarch was to admit thereof."

And accordingly the same Balsamon, (on Concil. Carthag., can. 16[p],) doth upon that canon professedly found the authority of princes, ἐπισκοπὴν εἰς μητρόπολιν ἄγειν . . . . καὶ ἐκ νέου ἐπισκόπους καὶ μητροπολίτας καθιστᾶν, "to advance an episcopal see into a metropolis, and anew to constitute bishops and metropolitans."

15. As for the transplanting it also from one city to

[m] [p. 337.] [n] [p. 342.] [o] [p. 403.] [p] [p. 627.]

So also to translate. Examples in England.

another, besides that the power of doing that is consequent to the former, the examples of this practice are ancient, and frequent in this kingdom. The passage set down out of the Annals of Gisburne [q] may be sufficient. From Caeruske the metropolitan seat was translated to St. David's by King Arthur, where it continued till Henry I., and then was reduced to Canterbury.

16. In like manner it is evident that the kings of England have divided bishoprics and erected new ones. About the year 630, Kinigilsa, king of the West Saxons, and Oswald of the Northumbers, erected an episcopal see at Dorchester, and placed Birinus in it, so saith Guil. Malmesb. *de Gest. Pontif. Angl.*, lib. ii. [p. 240.] About the year 660, Kenewalch, king of the West Saxons, divided this bishopric, and left part to Dorchester, and assigned the western part to be the diocese of the new bishop, which he constituted at Winchester, so saith Hen. Huntingd. Hist., lib. iii. [p. 331.] Then Winchester was subdivided in the time of King Ina, who also erected a new bishopric at Sherburne, and gave it to Aldelme, so Hen. Huntingd., lib. iv. [p. 337,] and Guil. Malm. *de* [*Gest.*] *Reg. Angl.*, lib. i. c. 2. [p. 14.] And after the Norman Conquest, Henry I. divided Cambridgeshire from the see of Lincoln, and erected the bishopric of Ely, so saith Guiliel. Malm. *de Gest. Pontif. Angl.*, lib. iv. [p. 293,] and Florentius Wigorn.[r], A.D. 1109, who lived at that time. So also saith Eadmer with some variation, *Regi, archiepiscopo, cæterisque principibus regni visum fuit de ipsa parochia* (*Lincolniæ*) *sumendum, quo fieret alter episcopatus, cujus cathedræ principatus poneretur in abbatia de Eli:* "It seemed good to the king, the archbishop, and the rest of the princes of the kingdom, to take as much out of the diocese of Lincoln as would make another bishopric, the chair whereof should be set up in the abbacy of Ely;" adding indeed that Anselm, a zealous promoter of the papal authority, as the author Eadmer was a disciple and admirer of Anselm, wrote to Pope Paschalis, desiring his consent to it, as a thing fit to be done, and yet to which he assures him he would not

[q] Concil. Angl., p. 26.

[r] [Eodem anno rex abbatiam Eliensem ad episcopalem mutavit sedem et Herveum Bancornensem episcopum eidem ecclesiæ præfecit.—Florent. Wigorn., p. 654. ed. Francof. 1601.]

CHAP. VI.

give his consent, but *salva authoritate papæ*, "reserving the rights of the pope;" which, though it doth suppose the pope's pretensions to that authority at that time, and Anselm's yielding it to him, yet it proves also this right of our kings to have been even then adhered to, preserved, and exercised by them, as the former authors had set it down[s].

So to exempt from episcopal jurisdiction.

17. Of this nature also is the authority of kings in exempting any ecclesiastical person from the bishop's jurisdiction, and granting episcopal jurisdiction to such person, which is largely asserted and exemplified in Cawdry's case, 5 Report. 14. One instance of this will serve for all, that of William the Conqueror, who exempted Battel abbey in Sussex from the jurisdiction of the bishop of Chichester, and gave the abbot episcopal jurisdiction in his territories, and the words of the charter are produced by Mr. Selden on Eadmer, *Hoc regali authoritate et episcoporum ac baronum meorum attestatione constituo*, "I appoint this by my royal authority by the attestation of my bishops and barons[t]."

[s] [His diebus sermo habitus est de parochia episcopi Lincoliensis quæ in nimium tendebatur, eoque processit ut, quum ratio Christianitatis id utile fore suadebat, regi et archiepiscopo cæterisque principibus regni visum fuerit, de ipsa parochia sumendum quo fieret alter episcopatus, cujus cathedræ principatus poneretur in abbatia de Heli. Sed Anselmus quem ipsius negotii summa respiciebat, sciens præter consensum et Romani pontificis auctoritatem novum episcopatum nusquam rite institui posse scripsit ei sic. Domino et patri reverendo Paschali summo pontifici Anselmus ecclesiæ Cantuariensis debitam obedientiam cum fideli obsequio et orationibus. Quoniam robur dispositionum quæ utiliter fiunt in ecclesia Dei, de vestræ pendet auctoritate prudentiæ, quando fiunt, ad vestrum referendæ sunt notitiam et judicium, ut cum Apostolico assensu fuerint confirmatæ, nulla præsumptione a posteris, quæ salubriter statutæ sunt, queant violari, sed ratæ permaneant in perpetuum. In Anglia est quidam episcopatus, scilicet Lincoliensis cujus diocesis tam ampla est ut ad ea quæ non nisi ab episcopali persona fieri queunt, unus episcopus plene sufficere non possit. Quod cum consideraret rex et episcopi et principes et alii rationabiles et religiosi viri regni Anglorum, ad utilitatem ecclesiæ visum consilium est episcopatum præfatum in duos dividere, ita ut sedes episcopalis in quadam abbatia quæ sita est in insula vocata Heli, et est intra præfatam diocesim constituatur, monachis ibidem permanentibus sicut sunt multi episcopatus qui monachos in matre ecclesia habent, non canonicos. Quod libenter concedit ipse episcopus Lincoliensis Robertus nomine, quia pro iis quæ assumuntur de sua ecclesia ad instaurandum novum episcopatum in Heli, tantum ecclesiæ Lincoliensi restauratur, ut ipsi sufficiens et gratum sibi esse fateatur. Cui rei mihi tum propter prædictam necessitatem tum propter multitudinem prædictorum qui in hoc consentiunt visum est, ut salva vestra auctoritate assensum præberem. Precatur igitur suppliciter mea parvitas, quatenus hoc quod pro utilitate ecclesiæ sic dispositum est, vestra auctoritate in perpetuum roboretur, ne a posteris ulla præsumptione (quod bene statutum fuerit) violetur. Oramus Dominum Omnipotentem ut Ecclesiæ suæ vos in diuturna prosperitate custodiat.—Eadmer. Hist. Novorum, lib. iv. p. 95. ed. Selden. fol. Lond. 1623.]

[t] [Ibid., p. 165.]

CHAP. VI.

Kings founders of bishoprics and patrons.

18. Add unto this, that even the western princes, in those parts where the bishops of Rome have much heightened their power, ever since the kings were Christians, the German emperors, the kings of France and England, always claimed to be founders of all bishoprics in their dominions, patrons of them to bestow them by investiture; that the kings of France andEngland often claimed and were acknowledged to have right that no legate from Rome might come into the land, and use jurisdiction without their leave; all which put together are a foundation for this power of the princes to erect or translate a patriarchate, it being with all acknowledged that our kings have the same authority in their territories that the Roman emperor had in the empire.

The reason of all, supreme power of kings.

19. And the reason of all this is clear, not only from the supreme authority of kings in all sorts of causes, even those of the Church[u], as well as civil,—as might be proved at large if

[u] *ὁ βασιλεὺς . . οἷα κοινὸς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἐπιστημονάρχης καὶ ὢν καὶ ὀνομαζόμενος*, "the king is as it were the common director and ruler of the Church, both in title and reality."—Demetrii Chomateni Resp. ad Const. Cab. [ap. Leunclav.] Jur. Græc. Rom., lib. v. [p. 317.]

[*ἔνθεν εἰκότως αὐτὸς ἐν ἑστίασει ποτὲ δεξιούμενος ἐπισκόπους, λόγον ἀφῆκεν, ὡς ἄρα εἴη καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπίσκοπος· ὧδέ πη αὐτοῖς εἰπὼν ῥήμασιν ἐφ' ἡμετέραις ἀκοαῖς· ἀλλ'*] *ὑμεῖς μὲν τῶν εἴσω τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἐγὼ δὲ τῶν ἐκτὸς ὑπὸ Θεοῦ καθεσταμένος ἐπίσκοπος ἂν εἴην·* [*ἀκόλουθα δ' οὖν τῷ λόγῳ διανοούμενος, τοὺς ἀρχομένους ἅπαντας ἐπεσκόπει, προὔτρεπέ τε ὅσηπερ ἂν ἡ δύναμις τὸν εὐσεβῆ μεταδιώκειν βίον.*]—Euseb. de vita Const., lib. iv. [cap. 24.] "Ye are bishops of the Church for those things which are celebrated within it, but for external things I am constituted overseer or bishop by God," saith Constantine the Great, in an assembly of bishops.

ἐγὼ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἱερεύς εἰμι, "I am king and priest," saith Leo Isaurus to Gregory the Second, neque eo nomine tamen reprehenditur a pontifice, "and was not for this reprehended by the pope." See J. C. de Lib. Eccl. ap. Goldast. Monarch., tom. i. p. 686. [li. 58.] So Socrates the historian, of the emperors in general after their receiving the faith of Christ, "the affairs of the Church depended on them." [*συνεχῶς δὲ καὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς τῇ ἱστορίᾳ περιλαμβάνομεν, διότι ἀφ' οὗ χριστιανίζειν ἤρξαντο,*] *τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πράγματα ἤρτητο ἐξ αὐτῶν*, [*καὶ αἱ μέγισται σύνοδοι τῇ αὐτῶν γνώμῃ γεγόνασί τε καὶ γίνονται.*] Lib. v. in Procem. And by Optatus, lib. iii. [cap. 3.] Quid est imperatori cum ecclesia? And all this according to the principles of civil policy acknowledged by Aristotle, *βασιλέα τῶν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς κύριον εἶναι*, "the king hath power of those things that belong to the gods." [*κύριοι δὲ ἦσαν τῆς τε κατὰ πόλεμον ἡγεμονίας καὶ τῶν θυσιῶν ὅσαι μὴ ἱερατικαὶ·* and *θυσίαι κατελείφθησαν τοῖς βασιλεῦσι μόνον.*] Pol. iii. [cap. 9.] And by Diotogenes in Stobæus, [tit. xlviii. 61.] that a perfect king ought to be both a good captain and a judge, *καὶ ἱερέα*, yea and a priest also. And accordingly among the ancient regal laws this is one, *Sacrorum omnium potestas sub regibus esto*, "Let the power of all sacred things be under the kings." And so in the practice, Caius Cæsar in Suetonius, cap. 12, was both augur and summus pontifex. Galba tres pontificatus gerebat, [accepit et sacerdotium triplex.] Gal. cap. 8. Claudius is by Josephus called *ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος*, "the greatest high-priest;" and Tacitus makes it his observation, nunc Deûm munere summum pontificum [etiam] summum hominum esse.—Annal., lib. iii. [cap. 58.] The same appears among the Jewish kings in Scripture, David or-

CHAP. VI.

here it were needful, and cannot be reasonably so confined as not to belong to a matter of this nature,—but peculiarly from that which hath been already noted, and expressly ordered, can. 17 of the council of Chalcedon even now cited, of the ecclesiastical division of provinces, &c., following the civil; for 1. it being certainly in the power of the king to place his *prætoria* or courts of assizes where he please; and 2. it being the known original of metropoles, and divisions of provinces, —as Strabo saith, *Geogr.*, lib. xvii., [sect. 25.] *αἱ ἐπαρχίαι διῄρηνται ἄλλοτε μὲν ἄλλως, ...* "provinces are variously distributed," *διὰ τὸ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους μὴ κατὰ φῦλα διελεῖν αὐτὰς, ἀλλ' ἕτερον τρόπον διατάξαι διοικήσεις ἐν αἷς τὰς ἀγοραίους ποιοῦνται καὶ δικαιοδοσίας,* "because the Romans divide them not by tribes or families, but after another manner in relation to the cities where they set up their courts of assizes,"—and again it being most reasonable, that as any new accident raises one city to a greater populousness or depresses another, so for the convenience of the people one should be made the seat of judicature, the other cease to be so, (and no man so fit to pass the judgment when this should be as the king;) and 3. the very same reasons of convenience moving in the Church as in the State, the bishops, and over them metropolitans and primates, having their judicatures and audiences, which in all reason must be so disposed of as may be most for the convenience of administration, that they and all under them may do their duties with most facility and to greatest advantage; and lastly, there being no obstacle imaginable from any contrary constitution either of Christ or His Apostles against which the prince can be said to offend either directly or interpretatively,—as I suppose is already clear from the refutation of the plea from St. Peter's universal pastorship,—whensoever he shall think fit to make such changes, the conclusion is rational as well as evident;

dering the courses of the priests, Solomon consecrating the temple, Hezekiah (2 Chron. xxix., 2 Kings xviii.) and Josiah (2 Kings xxii.) ordering many things belonging to it. And so St. Paul appealed from the judgment of the chief priests to the tribunal of Cæsar. See G. de Heimburg. as usurpationibus Paparum Romanorum, [p. 116. ed. Francof. 1608.] So in the Βασιλικὰ, the whole third book is made up of Justinian's, i.e. the emperor's constitutions, de Episcopis, Clericis et Sacris, concerning bishops, clergymen, and sacred offices. And the canons of councils have mostly been set out (and received their authority) by the emperors, and accordingly in the Theodosian code we shall find many of those which are now called papal decrees.

just that it should be so as well as clear, that elsewhere it hath oft been so *de facto*, and appointed by the canon of Chalcedon *de jure*, that the king may erect a primacy when he please,—and so it is certain that King Ethelbert, at the time of Augustine's planting the faith, did at Canterbury, the seat of his kingdom, *imperii sui totius metropolis*, saith Bede, lib. i. c. 25,—and consequently remove it from any other place at his pleasure. Had it not been for this, there is no reason assignable why this nation, being in Constantine's time under three metropolitans, the archbishop of York,—and the primacy belonging to that city, as being then the emperor's seat, where Septimius Severus and Constantius Chlorus died, and the *prætorium* of the diocese of Britanny,—the archbishop of London, and the archbishop of Caeruske in Monmouthshire, either 1. there should be, as there was, an addition of two provinces more, Valentia and Flavia Cæsariensis, or 2. the metropolitical power should be removed from London to Canterbury, as also from Caeruske to St. David's, as hath been said, and the primacy from York to Canterbury.

This power of kings, if taken away by foreign laws, &c., resumable.

20. Now what is thus vested in the regal power cannot be taken away by foreign laws, or by prescription be so alienated, but that it remains perfectly lawful for the prince to resume it.

21. That laws made at Rome do not take away the liberty of another national Church to make contrary laws thereunto, and that by such obviation no schism is incurred, we find delivered in the council of Carthage, can. 71[x] according to Balsamon's division. And though the canon be not set down by Binius, yet both he and Baronius[y] acknowledge that what was contained in that particular canon was the main occasion of the synod; and the antiquity thereof is considerable, those canons being made, say Baronius and Binius, A.D. 401.

22. So likewise that a law, though made by a general council, and with the consent of all Christian princes, yet if

[x] [καὶ οὗτος ὁ κανὼν ἰδικός ἐστιν· ἤρεσε γὰρ τοῖς πατράσι δέχεσθαι τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν Δονατιστῶν προσερχομένους τῇ ὀρθοδόξῳ πίστει, ὥστε ἔχειν αὐτοὺς τοὺς οἰκείους ἱερατικοὺς βαθμούς, κἂν ἄλλως ἔδοξε τὰ περὶ τούτου ἐν τῇ περαματικῇ συνόδῳ, ἤγουν τῇ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ.—Balsamon in Can. 71. Conc. Carthag. (A.D. 401.) p. 694.]

[y] [Ann. Eccl., an. 401. num. v.—xiv.]

CHAP. VI.

it have respect to a civil right, may, in this or that nation, be repealed, is the judgment of Roger Widdrington, or Father Preston[z], in his last rejoinder to Fitzherbert, c. 11, sect. 44; and c. 8 he confirms it by the doctrine of Suarez, lib. ii. *de leg.*, c. 19, and the reason of Suarez is, because such a law made at a general meeting of princes is intrinsically a civil law, and hath not force by virtue of the law to bind the subjects of any particular kingdom or commonwealth, any otherwise than as it is enacted or received by the governors and subjects of that kingdom.

23. And this is affirmed and extended by Balsamon[a] to all canons in general, as the judgment of learned men, in his notes on that sixteenth canon of the council of Carthage before cited.

So if alienated by prescription.

24. And for the matter of prescription the decision of Sayer[b] is worth observing, that in such cases as these, *cum præscriptio sit tantum de jure civili et canonico,* "when the prescription is neither of the law of nature, nor the divine law, nor the law of nations, but only of the civil and canon law," there *non plus se extendit quam unusquisque supremus princeps in suo regno eam suis legibus extensam esse velit,* "it extends no further than every supreme prince in his realm by his laws is supposed to will that it shall be extended;" which, saith he, cannot be supposed in matters of this nature, of "exempting subjects from making their appeal to their king;" for, saith he, *non est de mente alicujus principis*

[z] [Roger Widdrington, whose real name was Preston, was a learned Benedictine monk, who lived in the reigns of James I. and Charles I. He was the great champion for the oath of allegiance, and published several books on that subject against Bellarmine, Suarez, Fitzherbert, &c., which were censured by the see of Rome. He resisted for some time, and was joined by several, both clergy and regulars, who had a great opinion of his learning, but at last submitted. The volume referred to in the text is entitled 'A last rejoinder to Mr. Thomas Fitzherbert's reply concerning the oath of allegiance and the Pope's power to depose princes.' It was published in 4to. in the year 1619.]

[a] [Vide Balsamon, in Synod. Carthag., p. 627.]

[b] Clavis Regia, lib. ix. cap. 12. [tom. ii. p. 61. ed. Ven. 1625.—Gregory Sayer was educated, says Dodd, in his Church History, in the University of Cambridge, which he left on account of his religion, and going abroad was entertained in the English college at Rheims; and after some time was removed to the college at Rome, where he applied himself to divinity till the year 1585, and soon after became a Benedictine monk in the famous monastery of Monte-Cassino, and was professor of moral divinity for several years. In 1595, when he had acquired a great name on account of his learning, he was invited to Gregory's monastery in Venice, and died there in October, 1602. He was author of several treatises besides that referred to, which was entitled Clavis Regia Sacerdotum.]

ut quispiam subditorum possit præscribere quod ad principem ab eo non appelletur, aut quod eum coercere non potest, quando ratio et justitia postulat: "it is not imaginable to be the mind of any prince that any of his subjects should be able to prescribe that he is not to appeal to his prince," but to some other, "or that his prince may not punish him when reason and justice requires." It were easy to apply this distinctly to the confirming of all that I here pretend, but I shall not thus expatiate.

CHAP. VII.

THEIR THIRD EVIDENCE FROM OUR CASTING OFF OBEDIENCE TO THE BISHOP OF ROME AT THE REFORMATION.

1. Upon that one ground laid in the former chapter, the power of kings in general, and particularly *ad hunc actum*, to remove patriarchates, whatsoever can be pretended against the lawfulness of the reformation in these kingdoms will easily be answered. And therefore supposing the third and last objection to lie against our reformation, that it was founded in the casting off that obedience to the bishop of Rome which was formerly paid him by our bishops, and people under them, I shall now briefly descend to that, first laying down the matter of fact as it lies visible in our records, and then vindicating it from all blame of schism, which according to the premises can any way be thought to adhere to it.

The history of what was done against the bishop of Rome in the reformation.

2. And first for the matter of fact, it is acknowledged that in the reign of King Henry VIII. the papal, and with it all foreign power in ecclesiastical affairs, was both by acts of convocation of the clergy, and by statutes or acts of parliament, cast out of this kingdom. The first step or degree hereof was the clergy's synodical recognising the king, *singularem ecclesiæ Anglicanæ protectorem, unicum et supremum dominum*, "the singular protector, the only and supreme head of the Church of England." Upon this were built the statutes of 24 Hen. VIII.[c], 1531, "prohibiting all appeals to Rome, and for the determining all ecclesiastical suits and controversies within the kingdom;" the statute of 25 Hen. VIII.[d],

[c] [Statutes, an. 24 Hen. VIII. cap. xii. sect. 4. vol. i. p. 750.]

[d] [Ib., an. 25 Hen. VIII. cap. xx. sect. 4—7. vol. i. p. 762.]

CHAP. VII.

for the "manner of electing and consecrating of archbishops and bishops;" and another[e], in the same year, "prohibiting the payment of all impositions to the court of Rome, and for the obtaining of all such dispensations from the see of Canterbury which were formerly procured from the popes of Rome;" and that of 26 Hen. VIII.[f], "declaring the king to be the supreme head,"—which in Queen Elizabeth's reign was, to avoid mistakes, changed into supreme governor,—"of the Church of England, and to have all honours and pre-eminencies which were annexed to that title."

3. This was in the next place attended with the submission of the clergy to the king, agreed on, first in convocation, and afterward in 25 Hen. VIII. enacted by parliament, to this purpose[g], that "as it was by the clergy acknowledged that the convocation of the clergy then was, always had been, and ought to be assembled by the king's writ, and as they submitting themselves to the king's majesty had promised *in verbo sacerdotii*, that they would never from thenceforth presume to attempt, allege, claim, or put in ure, enact, promulge, or exercise any new canons, constitutions, ordinances provincial or other . . . . unless the king's most royal assent may to them be had to make, promulge, and execute the same . . . . so it was now enacted that none of the clergy should enact, promulge, or execute any such canons, constitutions, and ordinances, provincial or synodical, without assent and authority received from the king, upon pain of imprisonment and fine, at the king's pleasure."

4. The third and last step of this began with the debate of the universities and most eminent monasteries in the kingdom, *An aliquid authoritatis in hoc regno Angliæ pontifici Romano de jure competat, plusquam alii cuiquam episcopo extero?* "whether any authority did of right belong to the bishop of Rome in the kingdom of England more than to any other foreign bishop?" And upon agitation it was generally defined in the negative, and so returned testified under their hands and seals. The like was soon after concluded and resolved by the convocation of the bishops and

[e] [Ib., cap. xx. sect. 1.]

[f] [Ib., an. 26 Hen. VIII. cap. 1. p. 773.]

[g] [Ib., an. 25 Hen. VIII. cap. xix. sect. 1. p. 760.]

all the clergy, and subscribed and confirmed by their corporal oaths. And at that time was written and printed the tract *De vera differentia Regiæ et Ecclesiasticæ potestatis*[h], set out by the prelates, the chief composers of which were John Stokesly, bishop of London; Cuthbert Tunstall, bishop of Durham; Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester; and Dr. Thirlby, afterward bishop; where from the practice of the Saxon and first Norman kings they evidence the truth of that negative out of story. And what was thus concluded by the clergy was soon turned into an act of parliament also in 28 Hen. VIII.[i], called "An Act extinguishing the authority of the Bishop of Rome," and prescribing an oath to all officers, ecclesiastical and lay, of renouncing the said bishop and his authority.

5. By these three degrees it is acknowledged that the bishops and clergy first, then the king confirming the acts of the convocation, and after making acts of parliament to the same purposes, renounced the authority of the Roman see, and cast it out of this island; and though the first act of the clergy in this were so induced that it is easy to believe that nothing but the apprehension of dangers which hung over them, by a *præmunire* incurred by them, could probably have inclined them to it, and therefore I shall not pretend that it was perfectly an act of their first will and choice, but that which the necessity of affairs recommended to them, yet the matter of right being upon that occasion taken into their most serious debate in a synodical way, and at last a fit and commodious expression uniformly pitched upon by joint consent of both houses of the convocation, there is no reason to doubt but that they did believe what they did profess, the fear being the occasion of their debates, but the reasons or arguments offered in debate the causes, as in all charity we are to judge, of their decision.

The *præmunire*.

6. But I shall not lay much weight on that judgment of charity, because if that which was thus determined by king and bishops were falsely determined, then the voluntariness or freeness of the determination will not be able to justify

[h] [The title of this tract is, Opus eximium de vera differentia regiæ potestatis et ecclesiasticæ et quæ sit ipsa veritas ac virtus utriusque. 4to. Lond. in æd. Tho. Bertheleti, 1534. Bayle says that Henry VIII. was the author.]

[i] [Statutes, an. 28 Hen. VIII. cap. x. p. 821.]

CHAP. VII.

it; and on the other side, if the determination were just, then was there truth in it, antecedent to and abstracted from the determination, and it was their duty so to determine, and crime that they were unwilling to do it. And therefore the whole difficulty devolves to this one enquiry, whether at that time of the reign of Henry VIII. the bishop of Rome were supreme head or governor of this Church of England, or had any real authority here, which the king might not lawfully remove from him to some other, viz., to the archbishop of Canterbury, if he pleased.

The right of the bishop of Rome considered.

7. And this is presently determined upon the grounds which have been formerly laid, and confirmed to have truth in them. For the pretensions for the pope's supremacy of power among us being by the assertors thereof founded in one of these three, either in his right, as St. Peter's successor, to the universal pastorship, that including his power over England, as a member of the whole; or 2. by the paternal right which by Augustine's planting the gospel among the Saxons is thought to belong to the pope (and his successors) that sent him; or 3. in the voluntary concession of some kings. The two former of these have been largely disproved already, chap. iv. v. and vi., in discourses purposely and distinctly applied to those pretensions. And for the third, that will appear to have received its determination also, 1. by the absoluteness of the power of our princes,—to which purpose I shall mention but one passage, that of G. de Heimburg[k], some two hundred years since, in the last words of his tract *De Injust. Usurp. Pap.*, where speaking of the emperor's making oath to the pope, he saith that "this is a submission in him, and a patience above what any other suffers," and proves it by this argument, *Nam eximius rex Angliæ, Franciæ, dux, marchio, non astringitur Papæ quocunque juramento: factus imperator jurare tenetur secundum decretales eorum fabulose fictas, ita ut supremus monarcha magis servilis conditionis, quam quicunque ejus inferior fieri censeatur,* "The king of England and France, any duke or marquis of that kingdom, is not bound to the pope by any oath, yet the emperor at his creation is thus bound to swear according to the pope's decretals fabulously invented, so that the supreme

The concession of kings.

[k] [p. 125. ed. Francof. 1608.]

monarch is made to be of a more servile condition than any his inferior prince;"—and 2. by the rights of kings to remove or erect patriarchates, and will be further confirmed in the negative if answer be first given to this dilemma.

A dilemma against the plea drawn from that.

8. The authority of the pope in this kingdom, which is pretended to be held by the concession of our kings, was either so originally vested in our kings that they might lawfully grant it to whom they pleased, and so did lawfully grant it to the pope; or it was not thus originally vested in our kings. If it were not, then was that grant an invalid, null grant, for such are all concessions of that which is not ours to give, presumptions, invasions, robberies in the giver, which devolve no right to the receiver, and then this is a pitiful claim which is thus founded. But if that authority were so vested in the kings of England that they might lawfully grant it to whom they pleased, which is the only way by which the pope can pretend to hold any thing by this title of regal concession, then certainly the same power remains still vested in the king to dispose it from him to some other as freely as the same king may upon good causes remove his chancellor, or any other of his officers from his place, and commit it to another. This way of arguing is made use of by the bishops in convocation, A.C. 1537, in the book by them intitled "The Institution of a Christian man[1]." Or if the same power do not still remain in the king, then is the king's power diminished, and he consequently by this his act, of which we treat, become less a king than formerly he was; and then we know that such acts which make him so are invalid acts, it being acknowledged to be above the power of the king himself to divest himself and his successors of any part of his regal power.

Two sorts of gifts.

9. To which purpose it must be observed, 1. that some things are so ours that we may freely use them, but cannot freely part with them, as all those things wherein our propriety is not confined to our persons, but entailed on our

[1] [This book was first published in 8vo. Lond. 1534, under the title "The institution of a Christen man conteynynge the exposition or interpretation of the commune crede, of the seuen sacramentes, of the ten commandementes, and of the Pater Noster and the Aue Maria, justification and purgatorie." It was reprinted 4to. Lond. in æd. Tho. Bertheleti, 1537, and was republished by Lloyd in the "Formularies of Faith put forth by authority during the reign of Henry VIII." 8vo. Oxford, 1825.]

CHAP. VII.

posterity, and such the regal power is supposed to be; 2. that as some things which are part of our personal proprieties are so freely ours to give that when they are given they are departed out of ourselves, and cannot justly be by us resumed again,—in which case that maxim of the civil law stands good, *data, eo ipso quo dantur, fiunt accipientis,* "what is given, by the very act of being given, becomes the goods of the receiver,"—so other things are given to others, so as we do not part with them ourselves; they are as truly and properly ours after as before the concession.

Some revocable.

10. Thus the sun communicates his beams, and with them his warmth and influences, and yet retains all which it thus communicates, and accordingly withdraweth them again; and God, the spring of all life and grace, doth so communicate each of these, that He may and doth freely withdraw them again, and when He "taketh away our breath we die." And thus certainly the king, being the fountain of all power and authority, as he is free to communicate this power to one, so is he equally free to recall and communicate it to another, and therefore may as freely bestow the power of primate, and chief metropolitan of England, or, which is all one, of a patriarch, on the bishop of Canterbury, having formerly thought fit to grant it to the bishop of Rome, as he or any of his ancestors can be deemed to have granted it to the bishop of Rome; and then, as this being by this means evidenced to be no more than an act of regal power, which the king might lawfully exercise, takes off all obligation of obedience in the bishops to the pope at the first minute that he is by the king divested of that power, or declared not to have had it *de jure,* but only to have assumed it formerly,—which freedom from that obedience immediately clears the whole business of schism, as that is a departure from the obedience of the lawful superior,—so will there not want many weighty reasons, deducible from the ancient canons, as well as the maxims of civil government, why the king, who may freely place the primacy where he please, should choose to place it in a bishop and subject of his own nation, rather than in a foreign bishop far removed, and him not only independent from that king, but himself enjoying a principality, or territory, which is too apparent how willing

[Ps. civ. 29.]

The reasonableness of revoking it.

he is to enlarge unlimitedly, and to improve the concessions, which are either acknowledged or pretended to be made him, to that purpose.

Title and power of supreme head of the Church retained by Q. Mary.

11. And here it is not amiss to observe, in the reign of Queen Mary, who was no way favourable to the reformation in points of doctrine and liturgy, and made all speed to repeal what had been done in King Edward's time in that matter, yet 1. that she left not the title of supreme head till the third parliament of her reign; and 2. that in the second parliament authority is granted her "to make and prescribe to all such cathedral and collegiate churches as were erected by Henry VIII. such statutes and orders as should seem good to her," and that statute never repealed but expired; 3. that in her third parliament it was with much difficulty obtained, that the supremacy of the pope should be acknowledged[o], the matter being urged by her, as that which concerned the establishing the matrimony of her mother, and her legitimation, which depended upon the absolute power of the pope; 4. that in the fourth year of her reign, when the pope sent Cardinal Petow to be his legate in England, and to be bishop of Salisbury, she would not permit him to come into the land, neither could he have that bishopric, which as it was some check to the pope's absolute supremacy, and an assertion and vindication of the regal power, so being added to the former it will be less strange that this supreme power of the popes should be by the bishops in the reign of Henry VIII. disclaimed and ejected.

12. Upon this bottom the foundation of reformation being laid in England, the superstructure was accordingly erected by the king and bishops and clergy in convocation, but this not all at once, but by distinct steps and degrees; somewhat in the reign of this Henry VIII., as in the number of the Sacraments, the use of the Lord's Prayer, &c., in the English tongue, and the translation of the Bible, all resolved on in synod, the king, which duly assembled it, presiding in it by his vicar-general.

The advance of the reformation in

13. This was much further advanced in the time of his son Edward VI., who being a child, and the laws and constitution of this realm committing the exercise of the supreme

[o] [See statutes an. 1 et 2 Phil. et Mar., cap. 8. tom. ii. p. 103.]

CHAP. VII.

King Edward's days.

power in that case into the hands of a protector, what was thus regularly done by that protector, cannot be doubted to be of the same force and validity as if the king had been of age and done it himself; or if it should, it would be an unanswerable objection against all hereditary, successive monarchy, a maim in that form of government, which could no way be repaired, there being no amulet in the crown which secures the life of each king till his successor be of age, nor promise from heaven that the children of such princes shall, by succeeding to the crown, advance by miracle to the years and abilities of their parents; so irrational is the scoff and exception of some, that what was done in King Edward's days being the acts of a child is as such to be vilified and despised.

14. In the reign of this prince many changes were made in the Church, and recessions from the doctrines and practices of Rome; beside that of images, the lawfulness of the marriage of the clergy was asserted, a body of an English liturgy formed and settled for public use, the Eucharist appointed to be administered to the people in both kinds, &c. and though Bishop Gardner of Winchester, and Bishop Bonner of London, made opposition against these changes, and for some misbehaviours herein were imprisoned,—and two more moderate, learned men, Bishop Tunstal of Durham, and Bishop Day of Chichester, upon another score,—yet Archbishop Cranmer, and the rest of the bishops, making up the far greater number, joined with the supreme power in the reformation. And as it is no great marvel, that there should be some, so few, dissenters, so the punishment inflicted on them will not be deemed excessive by any that shall compare it with the far severer executions, the fire and faggot, which were soon after in Queen Mary's days inflicted on Archbishop Cranmer, Bishop Ridley, and Bishop Latimer, as the reward of their disputing in the synod against transubstantiation, and the like cruelties on multitudes more, and the exiles and deprivations which befell so many others in her reign. However this can be no prejudice to the regularity of the reformation in the reign of King Edward, wrought, as hath been said, by the supreme power, with the consent of the major part of bishops.

15. That which afterward followed in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign may be thought more distant, and less reconcilable to our pretensions,—not that of her sex, her being a woman, for so was Queen Mary before, which acted so vigorously for the contrary way; and the constitution of our monarchy invests equally either sex in the plenitude of regal power, in sacred as well as civil affairs, and it was but to raise envy against the reformation that Queen Elizabeth's sex, as before King Edward's non-age, hath by some been thought fit to be mentioned, and cannot by any sober judgment be admitted to have any force in it,—but because, as it is from our histories more pertinently objected, most of the bishops were by her divested of their dignities, and new created in their stead. To this therefore in the last place I must apply myself to give satisfaction. And 1,

In Queen Elizabeth's.

16. In this matter, as much as concerns the ordination of those new bishops, that it was performed regularly, according to the ancient canons, each by the imposition of the hands of three bishops, hath been evidently set down out of the records, and vindicated by Mr. Mason in his book *de Minist. Angl.*, and may there be viewed at large if the reader want satisfaction in that point[p].

17. As for the second remaining part of the objection, which alone is pertinent to this place, it will receive answer by these degrees; first that the death of Cardinal Pole, archbishop of Canterbury, falling near upon the death of her predecessor Queen Mary, it was very regular for Queen Elizabeth to assign a successor to that see, then vacant, Archbishop Parker; secondly, that those bishops which in Queen Mary's days had been exiled and deprived, and had survived that calamity, were with all justice restored to their dignities; thirdly, that the bishops by her deprived and divested of their dignities were so dealt with for refusing to take the oath of supremacy, formed and enjoined in the days of Henry VIII., and in the first parliament of this queen re-

The creation of new bishops in Queen Elizabeth's time vindicated.

[p] [Mason's book was first published in English, fol. Lond. 1613, and was afterwards translated into Latin by the author, and published with additions and alterations, fol. Lond. 1625, and again 1638. A translation of this was made by Lindsay, and appeared in folio, London, 1728, with a large preface by the translator, and another tract of the author's, entitled "The authority of the Church," and again in 1734.]

CHAP. VII.

vived, and the statutes concerning it restored to full force, before it was thus imposed on them. So that for the justice of the cause of their deprivation, it depends immediately upon the right and power of the supreme magistrate to make laws, to impose oaths for the securing his government, and to inflict the punishments prescribed by those laws on the disobedient; but originally upon the truth of that decision of the bishops, and clergy, and universities, in the reign of Henry VIII., that "no authority belonged in this kingdom of England to the bishop of Rome more than to any other foreign bishop." The former of these I shall be confident to look on as an undoubted truth, in the maintenance of which all government is concerned, and hath nothing peculiar to our pretensions which should suggest a vindication of it in this place, and the second hath, I suppose, been sufficiently cleared in the former chapters of this discourse, which have examined all the bishop of Rome's claims to this supremacy; and both these grounds being acknowledged,—or, till they be invalidated or disproved, supposed,—to have truth and force in them, the conclusion will be sufficiently induced, that there was no injustice in that act of the queen's which divested those bishops, which thus refused to secure her government, or to approve their fidelity to their lawful sovereign.

18. Fourthly, that those bishops being thus deprived, it was most regular and necessary, and that against which no objection is imaginable, that of their due ordination being formerly cleared, that other bishops should be nominated and advanced to those vacant sees, and that what should be for the future acted by those new bishops in convocation was regular, synodical, and valid beyond all exception in respect of the formality of it.

19. Fifthly, that as by the uniform and joint consent of these bishops thus constituted a declaration of certain principal articles of religion was agreed on and set out by order of both archbishops, metropolitans, and the rest of the bishops, for the unity of doctrine, to be taught and holden of all parsons, vicars, and curates, &c., and this not before the third year of that queen's reign; so before this time there had not been, as far as appears, any debate in any former convoca-

tion of that queen's reign concerning religion, only an offer of a disputation betwixt eight clergymen on each side, which came to nothing, but all done by the parliament's restoring what had been debated and concluded by former synods in the reigns of King Henry VIII. and Edward VI., without any new deliberation in any present synod. By this means were revived the statutes for the regal supremacy, as also of the Book of Common Prayer, as it was in the time of Edward VI., with few alterations, which included the abolition of the Romish missals. And so all this again, as far as it concerned Queen Elizabeth's part in the reformation, is regularly superstructed on the forementioned foundation of regal supremacy, with the concurrence and advice of synods, which hath been in the former part of this discourse, I hope, sufficiently vindicated.

20. And that being granted, it cannot be here necessary or pertinent to descend to the consideration of each several matter of the change thus wrought in this Church, either as branches of the reformation, or under the name or title of it. For our present enquiry being no further extended than this, whether the true Church of England, as it stands by laws established, have in reforming been guilty of schism, as that signifies in the first place a recession and departure from the obedience of our lawful superiors, and this being cleared in the negative, by this one evidence, that all was done by those to whom, and to whom only, the rightful power legally pertained, viz., the king and bishops of this nation, supposing, as now regularly we may, having competently proved it, and answered all the colours that have been offered against it, that the pope had no right to our obedience, and consequently that our departure from him is not a departure from our obedience to our superiors, it is presently visible that all other matters will belong to some other heads of discourse, and consequently must be debated upon other principles; all variation from the Church of Rome in point of doctrine if it should, as I believe it will never, be proved to be unjust, falling under the head of heresy, not of schism; and for acts of sacrilege, and the like impieties, as certainly Henry VIII. and some others cannot be freed from such, they are by us as freely charged upon the actors as by any Romanist they

CHAP. VII.

can be; but yet sacrilege is no more schism than it is adultery, and the Church, on which one sin hath been committed, cannot be from thence proved to be guilty of every other.

CHAP. VIII.

OF THE SECOND SORT OF SCHISM, AS THAT IS AN OFFENCE AGAINST MUTUAL CHARITY; THIS DIVIDED INTO THREE SPECIES, AND THE FIRST HERE EXAMINED.

1. But beside that first species of schism, as it is an offence against the subordination which Christ hath by Himself and His apostles settled in the Church, from the guilt of which I have hitherto endeavoured to vindicate our Church, another was taken notice of as it signifies an offence against the mutual unity, and peace, and charity which Christ left among His disciples: and to that I must now proceed as far as the accusations of the Romanist give us occasion to vindicate our innocence.

Three branches of the second sort of schism.

2. And for method's sake this branch of schism may be subdivided into three species. The first is a breach in the doctrines or traditions, a departure from the unity of the faith which was once delivered to the saints; under that head also comprehending the institutions of Christ, of His apostles, and of the universal Church of the first and purest ages, whether in government or other the like observances and practices. The second is an offence against external peace and communion ecclesiastical. The third and last is the want of that charity which is due from every Christian to every Christian. Beside these I cannot foresee any other species of schism, and therefore the vindicating our reformation from all grounds of charge of any of these three will be the absolving the whole task undertaken in these sheets.

1. A departure from the unity of doctrines, or traditions apostolical.

3. For the first it may be considered either in the bullion or in the coin, in the gross or in the retail, either as it is a departure from those rules appointed by Christ for the founding and upholding His truth in the Church, this unity of doctrine, &c., or else as it is the asserting any particular branch of doctrine contrary to Christ's and the apostolical, pure Church's establishment.

CHAP. VIII.

Our Church vindicated from this, in two branches. In the first, Christ's rules for upholding the truth.

4. And here it is first suggested by the Romanist, that by casting out the authority of the bishop of Rome, we have cast off the head of all Christian unity, and so must needs be guilty of schism in this first respect. To which the answer is obvious, 1. that the bishop of Rome was never appointed by Christ to be the head of all Christian unity, or that Church to be the conservatory for ever of all Christian truth, any more than any other bishop or Church of the Apostles' ordaining or planting, and whatever can be pretended for the contrary will be easily answered from the grounds already laid and cleared in the former part of this discourse concerning the universal pastorship of St. Peter's successors, which must not be here so unnecessarily repeated.

5. Secondly, that the way provided by Christ and His Apostles for the preserving the unity of the faith, &c., in the Church, is fully acknowledged by us, and no way supplanted by our reformation. That way is made up of two acts of apostolical providence; first, their resolving upon some few heads of special force and efficacy to the planting of Christian life through the world, and preaching and depositing them in every Church of their plantation; 2ndly, their establishing an excellent subordination of all inferior officers of the Church to the bishop of the city; of the bishops in every province to their metropolitans; of the metropolitans in every region or διοίκησις to patriarchs, or primates; allowing also among these such a primacy of order or dignity as might be proportionable to the πρῶτος Σίμων in the Scripture, and agreeable to what is by the ancient canons allowed to the bishop of Rome. And this standing subordination sufficient for all ordinary uses, and when there should be need of extraordinary remedies there was then a supply to be had by congregating councils, provincial, patriarchal, general, as hath formerly been shewed. And all this, it is most certain, asserted and acknowledged by every true son of the Church of England, as zealously as is pretended by any Romanist. And from hence, by the way, that speech of the learned and excellent Hugo Grotius, which I discern to be made use of by the Romanists, and looked on with jealousy by others, will I suppose receive its due importance and interpretation in his *Rivet. Apologet. Dis-*

[Matt. x. 2.]

CHAP. VIII.

cuss.[q], p. 255, *Restitutionem Christianorum in unum idemque corpus*, &c.

6. As for the subjection and dependence of this Church to the monarchic power of the bishop of Rome, this will never be likely to tend to the unity of the whole body, unless first all other Churches of Christians paid that subjection too, and were obliged, and so by duty morally ascertained always to continue it,—which it is evident the eastern Churches had not done long before the time of our pretended departure,—and 2, unless the bishop of Rome were in all probability able to administer that vast province, so as would be most to the advantage of the whole body; for which, whether he be fitly qualified or no, as it is not demonstrable in

[q] [This book was originally published anonymously, with the title, "Rivetiani Apologetici pro Schismate contra votum pacis facti, discussio," 8vo. Irenop. 1645, and may be found in the fourth volume of the collected works of Grotius, pp. 677—745. The passage referred to is at the conclusion of the treatise, and is as follows: Restitutionem Christianorum in unum idemque corpus, semper optatam a Grotio, sciunt, qui eum norunt. Existimavit autem aliquando, etiam postquam innotuerat illustrissimo D. Vairio, incipi posse a Protestantium inter se conjunctione. Postea vidit id plane fieri nequire; quia, præterquam quod Calvinistarum ingenia ferme omnium ab omni pace sunt alienissima, Protestantes nullo inter se communi Ecclesiastico regimine sociantur: quæ causæ sunt, cur factæ partes in unum Protestantium corpus colligi nequeant; imo et cur partes aliæ atque aliæ sint exsurrecturæ. Quare nunc plane ita sentit Grotius, et multi cum ipso, non posse Protestantes inter se jungi, nisi simul jungantur cum iis, qui sedi Romanæ cohærent; sine qua nullum sperari potest in Ecclesia commune regimen. Ideo optat, ut ea divulsio quæ evenit, et causæ divulsionis tollantur. Inter eas causas non est primatus Episcopi Romani secundum canonas, fatente Melanchthone, qui eum primatum etiam necessarium putat ad retinendam unitatem. Neque enim hoc est Ecclesiam subjicere pontificis libidini, sed reponere ordinem sapienter institutum. Quæ deinde ex epistola Vairii infert D. Rivetus, nec veri quicquam habent, nec veri speciem, sed, si D. Riveti vocibus apud ipsum uti licet, sine fronte malitiam. Nam si Grotius, tanto viro invitante, id voluisset promittere, quod eum promisisse fingit D. Rivetus, poterat ille, per malos Calvinistas exutus patria, exutus bonis, ampla illa honorum et commodorum promissa adipisci, quæ a Rege Galliæ nunquam aut habuit aut speravit; neque illi opus fuisset exire Gallia et regni alterius rebus operam suam addicere. Et nunc quoque, cum omnia adferat ad pacem Ecclesiæ restituendam quæ potest, nihil illi dat Gallia, et si dare velit, nihil ille accipiat. Sed viles venalesque animæ alios de se æstimant: neque oculos habent quibus propositi tam honesti, quam privatim inutilis, pulchritudinem conspiciant. ... Quod Cassandro licuit etiam antequam ab imperatorum ullo ad id excitaretur, sponte sua ad publicum incendium restinguendum aquas adferre, cur Grotio non licuit? Mornæus Plessiacus, cum maximos a Rege, jam Catholico, honores haberet, contra Catholicos scripsit, et quidem acerbissime, ad fovendas partes: et ob id laudatur a D. Riveto, ejusque similibus. Grotius, quod ei de publicis negotiis restat temporis, in id impendit, ut Catholici intelligant, eos qui confessionem Augustanam sequuntur, non ita longe ab illis abesse, quin in corpus unum redire cum ipsis possint: et ob id impetitur calumniis. Sed Deus pacis et pacificos amabit animos, et eorum votis implendis vias reperiet, quas nos pervidere nondum possumus.]

the causes, so is it to be looked on as a politic problem, the truth of which belongs to prudent persons, and such as are by God entrusted with the flock to judge of, i. e. to the princes, the nursing-fathers of every Church, who are prudentially and fatherly to determine for themselves and those that are under them what is most ordinable to that end, and cannot be obliged to conclude further than the motives or premises will bear, to decree what they do not reasonably and cordially believe.

In the second, particular doctrines.

7. Lastly, for the particular doctrines wherein we are affirmed by the Romanists to depart from the unity of the faith, and so by departing from the unity to be schismatical, as heretical by departing from the faith, this must be contested by a strict survey of the particular doctrines, wherein as we make no doubt to approve ourselves to any that will judge of the apostolical doctrines and traditions by the Scriptures, and consent of the first three hundred years, or the four general councils,—the most competent witnesses of apostolical traditions,—so we shall secure ourselves of our innocence in this behalf, by that principle acknowledged in our Church, and owned as the rule by which we are concluded in any debate or controversy: that whatever is contrary to the doctrine or practices of those first and purest ages shall by us, as soon as it thus appears, be renounced and disclaimed also. Which resolution of ruliness and obedience will I suppose conserve us in the unity of the faith, and render us approvable to God, though our ignorance, thus unaffected, should betray us to some misunderstandings of those first times, and be an instrument much more probable to "lead us into all truth" than the supposed infallibility of the Church of Rome can be imagined to be, which as it leaves the proudest presumer really as liable to error as him that acknowledgeth himself most fallible, so it ascertains him to persevere incorrigible whether in the least or greatest error, which by fault or frailty he shall be guilty of.

The Church of England's temper in respect of particular doctrines.

8. This consideration of the humble, docile temper of our Church,—together with our professed appeal to those first and purest times to stand or fall, as by those evidences we shall be adjudged,—as it necessarily renders it our infelicity, not our crime, if in judging of Christ's truth we should be

CHAP. VIII.

deemed to err, so may it reasonably supersede that larger trouble of the reader in this place, which the view and examination of the severals would cost him, it being thus far evident, that it is our avowed wish and our care,—should it be denied to be our lot,—a special mark of the Church of England's reformation, to preserve the unity of the apostolical faith and primitive practices as entire as we would have done Christ's body or garment, and the probability being not weak on our side, that the fact of the crucifying soldiers, which hath so much of our abhorrence and detestation, shall never be our choice, our known or wilful guilt, or if it be, that we so far recede from our profession.

CHAP. IX.

THE SECOND SPECIES OF THIS SCHISM EXAMINED, AS IT IS AN OFFENCE AGAINST EXTERNAL PEACE, OR COMMUNION ECCLESIASTICAL.

This Church free from breach of communion ecclesiastical. As appears by six considerations. The first.

1. Now for the second branch of this second sort of schism, as it is an offence against external peace or communion ecclesiastical. This cannot with any colour be charged on us, of whom these six things are manifest, and that by the tenure of our reformation; 1. that we have always retained the form of government in and under which the Apostles founded ecclesiastical assemblies or communion, viz., that of the bishop, and his inferior officers in every Church, and so in that respect are, in Ignatius'[r] phrase, ἐντὸς [τοῦ] θυσιαστηρίου, "within the altar," have no part of that breach of ecclesiastical communion upon us which consists in casting out that order; 2. that as we maintain that order, so we regularly submit to the exercise of it, acknowledge the due authority of these governors, profess canonical obedience to them, submit to their censures and decrees, and give ourselves up to be ruled by them in all things that belong to their cognizance, *secundum Deum*, "according to God;" 3. that the circumstances which are necessary to the ἐπισυναγωγία, the "assembling" ourselves together for the public worship, whether 1. that of place,—our churches consecrated

The second.

The third.

[r] [S. Ignat. Ep. ad Eph. cap. 5.]

to those offices,—or 2. that of time,—the Lord's day, and other primitive festivals and fasts, and in their degree every day of the week,—or 3. that of forms of prayer and praises, celebration of sacraments, and sacramentals, preaching, catechizing, &c.—or 4. that of ceremonies, such as the practice of the primitive Church hath sent down recommended to us, —or lastly, that of discipline to bind all these performances upon every member of the Church in his office or place, are all entered into our confessions, settled by article as part of our establishment, and so the want of either or all of those are not imputable to our reformation.

The fourth.

2. Fourthly, that in every of these three, whatsoever the Romanist requires us to add further to that which we voluntarily and professedly receive,—1. the supreme, transcendant, monarchic power of the pope; 2. the acknowledgment of and obedience to his supremacy; 3. the use of more ceremonies, festivals, &c.,—is usurpation or imposition of the present Romanists, absolutely without authority or precedent from the ancient primitive Church, from whom we are so unwilling to divide in any thing, that we choose a conformity with them rather than with any later model, and if by receding from the *ordo Romanus* in any particular we do not approve ourselves to come nearer to the first and purest times, it is the avowed profession of our Church, the wish and purpose of it, which I may justly style part of our establishment, to reduce and restore that, whatsoever it is, which is most pure and primitive instead of it.

The fifth.

3. Fifthly, that as we exclude no Christian from our communion that will either filially or fraternally embrace it with us, being ready to admit any to our assemblies that acknowledge the foundation laid by Christ and His Apostles, so we as earnestly desire to be admitted to the like freedom of external communion with all the members of all other Christian Churches, as oft as occasion makes us capable of that blessing of the one heart and one lip, and would most willingly, by the use of the ancient method of *literæ communicatoriæ*, maintain this communion with those with whom we cannot corporally assemble, and particularly with those which live in obedience to the Church of Rome.

The sixth.

4. Sixthly, that the only hindrances that interpose and

CHAP. IX.

obstruct this desired freedom of external communion are wholly imputable to the Romanists.

5. First, their excommunicating and separating from their assemblies all that maintain communion with the Church of England, which we know was done by bull from the pope about the tenth year of Queen Elizabeth,—before which time those English which had not joined in our reformation might and did come to our assemblies, and were never after rejected by us but upon their avowed contumacy against the orders of our Church, which consequently brought the censures on them,—and to that it is visibly consequent that we that were cast out cannot be said to separate, as in the former part of this discourse hath been demonstrated.

6. Secondly, their imposing such conditions on their communion,—belief of doctrines and approbation of practices which we neither believe nor approve of, and are ready to contest and maintain our negatives by grounds that all good Christians ought to be concluded by,—that we cannot without sinning, or seeming to sin against conscience, without wilful falling on one side, or dissembling and unsound confession on the other side, or at least the scandal of one of these, accept of their communion upon such conditions as hath formerly been demonstrated also.

A consideration concerning our Church.

7. And in this matter it were very well worthy our considering how far the articles of our Church of England proceed in accord with the present Roman doctrines and practices, and in what particulars ἐπέχομεν, we cannot persuade ourselves to consent to them, and then to offer it to the umpirage of any rational arbitrator whether we that unfeignedly profess to believe so much and no more, nor to be convinced by all the reasons and authorities, proofs from Scripture, or the first Christian writers,—those of the first three hundred years,—or the four general councils produced by them,—being in full inclination and desire of mind ready to submit upon conviction,—are in any reason or equity, or according to any example or precept of Christ or His Apostles, or the ancient primitive Church, to be required to offer violence to our minds, and to make an unsound profession, or else,—for that one guilt of not doing so,—to be rejected as heretics, and denied the benefit of Christian communion, which we

heartily desire to extend and propagate to them which deny it to us. All this thus put together, and applied to this present matter, will certainly vindicate us from all appearance of guilt of this second branch of the second sort of schism. CHAP. IX.

CHAP. X.

THE THIRD SPECIES OF THIS SCHISM, AS AN OFFENCE AGAINST THAT CHARITY DUE FROM EVERY CHRISTIAN TO EVERY CHRISTIAN EXAMINED.

1. LASTLY, as schism is an offence against that charity which is due from every Christian to every Christian, so it will be best distributed, according to what we see noted by the Apostle in the Jewish and Gentile Christians, into the judging and despising of others, either of which was, if not formally schism, yet soon improvable into it, when it would not be repressed by the Apostle's admonitions. The Jewish Christians we know judged and damned all that would not observe the Mosaical law, and would not associate or communicate with the gentiles; and the like height Diotrephes, and some of the gentiles believers, who began with the other branch, that of vilifying the weak Jew, at last arrived to "not receiving, forbidding to receive, and casting out the brethren." And whether the Romanists or we are thus guilty will soon be discernible.

Contrary to charity due from all to all.

1. Judging. 2. Despising.

Separating the effect of both.

[3 John 10.]

2. For the former, that of judging, and so separating from their brethren, if yet we may be allowed that title, it is evident by their own acknowledgment how guilty they are, and how guiltless we.

Of judging and separating the Romanists guilty *ex professo*.

3. It hath been a special motive and argument to gain proselytes to their party for some years, that by our confession there is salvation to be had among them, but in their judgment no possible hope of it for us. This weapon of theirs used so studiously against us, to anticipate and prejudge in general whatsoever can be particularly said to assert our doctrines and practices, will certainly be as useful in our hands as Goliath's sword in David's to give this wound,—I wish it may not prove as fatal,—to our vaunting enemies; for certainly if there be any truth in that motive,

[1 Sam. xvii. 51.]

CHAP. X.

then are they professedly the men that judge their brethren, and as confessedly we the men that do not judge them. And if St. Cyprian's rule be true,—who had as well considered the nature of schism, and as diligently armed the Christians of his age against it, and given us as sure rules to judge by in this matter as any,—that they that maintain any difference in opinion against other Christians must, if they will avoid the evil of schism, manage it with this temper, *neminem damnantes, neminem a communione nostra arcentes*, "never condemn any, or forbid them our communion," then is the schism, because the uncharitableness, on their parts, not on ours. And it is not the saying we are heretics, and so certainly excluded salvation, schismatics, and so out of the Church, the way to salvation, that can give this sanguinary judgment any meeker a title; for that we are such, being as much denied as any thing, and that negative offered to be proved and vindicated by all those evidences by which any matter of doctrine, from whence this question depends, can duly be cleared, this unproved affirmation that we are such is certainly a *petitio principii*, "a begging of the question," a supposing that in the debate which they know we are as far from confessing as they from having proved, and that is the most certain proof that such judging is uncharitable; I wish there were not so many other as pregnant indications of it.

Of despising. We are guiltless of it.

4. And for that of despising or setting at nought the brother, which is the Apostle's argument also that they walk not charitably, and the effect whereof is evident, the casting them out of the Church, if the cause may be concluded by the effect the guilt lies on the Romanists' side, not on ours, as hath formerly appeared. And truly we are so sensible of the many prepossessions and strong prejudices which, by the advantage of education, the prescribed credulity to all that the Church shall propose, the doctrine of infallibility, the shutting up the Scriptures in an unknown language, the impossibility that the multitude should search or examine tradition with their own eyes, the prosperous flourishing estate of the Roman Church, and the persecutions, and calamities, and expressions of God's displeasure on the Church of England, the literal sound of *hoc est corpus meum* for their principal espoused doctrine of transubstantiation, and some

other the like means, are infused into the multitude of men and women that are brought up without any knowledge of ours, in a firm belief of all their pretensions, that we are as far from setting them at nought or despising them as from that, which by their doing it first is made impossible for us to be guilty of, the casting them out of the Church. CHAP. X.

5. I foresee not any objection which may give me temptation or excuse further to enlarge on this matter, and profess not to know any other branch of schism, or colour of fastening that guilt upon our Church made use of by any, which hath not been either prevented in the grounds of this discourse, or distinctly taken notice of and competently vindicated, as far as the designed brevity would permit.

CHAP. XI.

CONCERNING THE PRESENT PERSECUTION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, AND THE ADVANTAGES SOUGHT FROM THENCE.

1. Our establishment being thus freed from schism, I shall not now entertain myself with any fear that the persecution which we are under will involve us in it. Yet can I not but take notice of the style that some Romanists have in these last years, on this occasion, chosen to make use of, calling us "the late Church of England," the interpretation whereof is to my understanding this, that the calamities under which we now suffer have made us cease to be a Church: and therefore having learned, and abundantly experimented, what scandal the cross hath always carried along with it, how willing enemies are to take advantage, and ground arguments on afflictions, and how ordinary it is for friends to take impressions from such sensible, carnal motives, and being secured by the story of the ancient Gnostics, that it is neither scandalous excess of fear, nor want of charity, to think it possible that this, as other ancient heresies, may now, as in a platonic year, if not carefully warded, return on us, as in a revolution, I shall therefore conclude this paper with an attempt to remove this prejudice, the utmost whereof, being formed into an objection, is this, that it is absolutely necessary to communicate with some one visible

The Romanists' argument from our present condition of persecution.

CHAP. XI.

Church, that now the Church of England is not such, and consequently that it must be cast off, and the Roman Church, so illustriously visible, be taken up instead of it.

Answered.

2. To this reserve I shall make my returns by these degrees; first, that by the making this objection, or drawing any argument against any member of the Church of England from the present περιστάσεις, or "improsperous circumstances" of affairs, it must be supposed that twenty years since this person, the supposed subject of discourse, living regularly in this Church under his superiors, was not then chargeable with this crime of not communicating with a visible Church.

3. This consequent I shall not be so much my own flatterer as to think it will be allowed me by the Romanist, who will, I know, at another time accuse the whole Church of England, ever since the reformation, of schism from the Catholic Church, and make the communicating with it twenty years since as dangerous as now the not communicating with any. But the reason of my laying this foundation is to shew the vanity of the present objection; for if the Church of England twenty years since were not a Church, but a society of schismatics, not a particular Church,—which if so must be a part or member of the universal, and such it is not if it be truly separated from that body in the unity of which it is obliged to remain,—but a separated and torn off, and so a lifeless ejected branch, then whatsoever hath now befallen us, and the consequence of that, the supposed impossibility of communicating with the Church of England, will but leave us where we were, the impossibility of communicating with a schismatical society being not chargeable on us as a crime, by them who make the communicating with all such societies so damnable; and therefore I say to the making this any objection, it is necessary that that be supposed which I have for that cause laid as my foundation, that twenty years since a member of the English Church was not under this guilt of not communicating with some one visible Church; and if then he were not,—or, for discourse sake, be by the objector supposed not to have been,—then it infallibly and irrefragably follows, which is the second proposition, that he that twenty years since

was not under this guilt of not communicating, is either not guilty of it now, or else hath voluntarily committed or omitted somewhat, which commission or omission hath been the contracting of this guilt. For that somewhat which hath not been his choice shall become his crime, that what hath been his saddest part of infelicity, the evil against which he hath most industriously contended, should be accounted his offence when it is his punishment, I shall not fear will be affirmed by any.

4. Thirdly then, the business is brought to this issue, that that person which is the subject of our discourse, he that twenty years since was a member of the Church of England, be now proved by some commission or omission of his, voluntarily to have contracted this guilt, or else be absolved and freed from it; if he have contracted it, it must be by some irregularity of actions, contrary to the standing rule and canons of this Church; or by disobedience to some commands of his ecclesiastical superiors; and as in neither of these I shall excuse any that hath been guilty, so if, being not fallen under the actual censures of the Church for it, he now timely and sincerely return with contrition and reformation, I shall hope it will not be imputed to him; but however, this cannot be insisted on by the objector, because I speak, and so must he, of him that hath lived regularly, not of him that hath not. And of him it is apparent that all that he hath done is to adhere to his former principles when others have not, to have testified his constancy with not only venturing, but actually losing either possessions or liberty, and the benefit of ecclesiastical assemblies, rather than he would join or appear to join with schismatics, when others have made all worldly advantages by the rupture; in a word, that he hath been patient and not fainted; and never departed from his rule, though it have cost him dear to stick fast to it. And I hope nobody will be so uncharitable as to grieve and gall him whom God hath thus suffered to be chastised, upon no other provocation than this, his having been thus afflicted and persecuted. This is too clear a truth to need confirming, and yet this is the utmost that it can be driven to, supposing the most that the objection can be imagined to suppose, viz., that the Church of England is now invisible.

CHAP. XI.

5. But then in the fourth place it must be added, that as yet, blessed be God, the Church of England is not invisible; it is still preserved in bishops and presbyters rightly ordained, and multitudes rightly baptized, none of which have fallen off from their profession; and the only thing imaginable to be objected in this point being this, that the schism hath so far been extended by the force, that many, if not most Churches parochial are filled by those who have set up a new, or a no-form of worship, and so that many men cannot any otherwise than in private families serve God after the Church-way, that sure will be of little weight, when the Romanists are remembered to be the objectors, who cannot but know that this is the only way that they have had of serving God in this kingdom these many years, and that the night meetings of the primitive Christians in dens and caves are as pertinent to the justifying of our condition as they can be of any, and when it is certain that the ἐγκατάλειψις τῆς ἐπισυναγωγῆς, "the forsaking of the assemblies," is not ἑκούσιον, "our wilful fault," but only our unhappy lot, who are forced either not to frequent the assemblies, or else to encourage, and incur the scandal of seeming to approve, the practices of those that have departed from the Church. That we do not decline order or public communion, and consequently are not to be charged for not enjoying those benefits of it which we vehemently thirst after, is evident by the extensive nature of our persecution, the same tempest having with us thrown out all order, and form, bishops, and liturgy together, and to that cursedness of theirs, and not to any obstinateness or unreconcilableness of ours, which alone were the guilt of non-communion, is all that unhappiness of the constant sons of the present English Church to be imputed, in which alone this whole objection is founded.

Heb. x. 25. ver. 26.

What this may come to in the future.

6. I cannot discern any further appearance of difficulty in this matter, and therefore shall no further lengthen this appendage, than by offering it to the consideration of the indifferent reader, whether this objection can ever in future times be improvable into a charge against us or our posterity, as long as either bishops stand, and continue to ordain among us, or it is not our faults that they do not stand. To which purpose it may be remembered what befel the Jews whether

under the zealot's fury or the Roman's yoke; the former threw out the lawful successive high-priests, and priests of the sons of Aaron, and put into those sacred offices the most ignorant rustics, some so void of all degree of knowledge, saith Josephus, that they knew not what the very word "priest" signified; the Roman conquerors by their procurators put in annually whom they pleased to choose, without consideration of the Aaronical line, in the chief-priest's office. I shall here demand of any, whether,—supposing and granting it as undeniable that the zealots were formally schismatics, or with some improvement, in Josephus' style, στασιασταὶ, 'seditious,'—there can be any ground of reason or equity, to involve or conclude under the same guilt those that lived under those imposed usurping high-priests, supposing those inferiors to have been as far from consenting to the continuance as to the beginning of such usurpation, and that the circumstances were such that they lay not under the appearance of doing what they did not, and so had not the scandal any more than the reality of that guilt. The reader, I suppose, will be able to answer this query to himself, and supersede all necessity of making up the parallel.

7. And then I have at this time no further exercise for him, but that he will join in ardent prayers with me, that God will restore that which is lost, reduce that heavenly grace, and incomparable blessing of Christian peace and holy communion among all that have received the honour of being called by His name, that we may all mind the same thing, fix the same common designs, love, and aid, and promote one another's good, unanimously glorify Him here with one tongue and heart, that we may all be glorified with Him, and sing joint hosannas and hallelujahs to Him to all eternity. Amen.

A

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OR,

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WHEREIN IS INSERTED

A DISCOURSE OF HERESY IN DEFENCE OF OUR CHURCH AGAINST THE ROMANIST.

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PAGE

CHAP. VI.—A THIRD DIFFICULTY, RAISED FROM ACTS iv. 19, AND 1 COR. ix. 16, SATISFIED 379

CHAP. VII.—THE BENEFICIAL USES OF OUR PRESENT CONDITION . 391

SECT. 1.—FIRST, CONTEMPT OF THE WORLD . . . ib.

SECT. 2.—SECONDLY, UNIVERSAL REFORMATION . . 394

SECT. 3.—THIRDLY, FRUITS OF REPENTANCE. AMONG THEM, FIRST, PERFECT CONTENTMENT: DISCERNIBLE BY TWO TRIALS 398

SECT. 4.—SECONDLY, PEACE WITH ALL MEN . . . 401

SECT. 5.—THIRDLY, FREQUENCY OF SYNAXES . . . 406

A

PARÆNESIS:

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SEASONABLE EXHORTATORY TO ALL TRUE SONS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

CHAP. I.

AN INTRODUCTIVE REFLECTION ON OUR PRESENT CONDITION.

[Occasion and seasonableness of this treatise.]

1. In this sad conjuncture of affairs, when those whose office it is to speak to the people from God, and to God from the people, are solemnly forbidden all public discharge of these and all other branches of that sacred function, so useful to make up the breach, to reconcile the enmity betwixt an angry God and a sinful land; it may not, I presume, and I hope it will not, be deemed by any either impertinent or unseasonable, to make some attempt to supply those wants and remove those pressures, which may otherwise lie too heavily unsupportable on those our weak brethren's souls, towards whom the example of Christ's bowels and bloodshedding may reasonably expect to be answered with our utmost compassion.

2. In obedience therefore to opportunity, which may possibly be a duty incumbent on us, (since Rom. xii. 11. the Greek copies of greatest authority read *καιρῷ δουλεύειν*, 'serving the season,' instead of *Κυρίῳ*, 'the Lord,') I shall now, though the unworthiest of all my many brethren, assume this venerable office of being a remembrancer to the people of God, even to all those who have been brought forth unto Christ by our precious dear persecuted mother, the Church of England, and remain still constant to that faith which from her breasts they have sucked, and are not yet scandalized in her.

3. And for the first step of my address, it cannot be more

CHAP. I.

regular than by beholding and representing awhile the peculiarity of our present condition, considered only in the sad matter of it, without any unkind reflection on the inflicters, that no one of us may miss to discern the nature of that judgment that by God's just vengeance and all-wise providence is permitted to fall and lie upon us, even the saddest addition to the former weight that our unparalleled sins and provocations could solicit God to tolerate, or suggest to others to inflict, or to the patients to fear or expect in this life.

[Images of present condition in Scripture.]

4. Some images we have of it in sacred writ. As first the expulsion of our first parents, and in them of all God's people, at one interdict, out of the garden of God, that lively emblem of a pure reformed Church; and a flaming sword, sent to back that interdict, to "guard the way of the tree of life," to keep those who most desired from tasting of it: and the sad positive penalties which attended that, the sweat and agony of their combat with the briers and thorns, were nothing in comparison with the vast dismal privation and intercision of those blessed advantages, all which were designed the daily fruits and enjoyments of that paradise.

[Gen. iii. 24.]

5. Add to this the captive ark, with Ichabod inscribed on it, the departure of the Shechina, the majestic presence of the Lord, and with it the glory from Israel; the very news whereof was, in God's own judgment, such as that the "ears of every one that heard it should tingle," and the effect yet more direful to old Eli, whose but mildness and want of due severity had somewhat contributed toward it: the greatness of which punishment to the discomfited Israelites is much more agreeable and useful matter of meditation to us at this time than the inauspicious consequents thereof to those who took it captive, the emerods and the ruinous prostration of their Dagon, and the weight of God's hand on the men of Ashdod, and Gath, and Ekron, who were any way guilty of taking, or accessory to the withholding it.

[1 Sam. iii. 13.]

6. Besides these, the prophets both of the Old and New Testament have yielded many dismal adumbrations, their pencils advancing as high as to the "sun's being turned into darkness and the moon into blood;" the casting down of the host, and of the stars to the ground; some in calmer style

[Joel ii. 31; Acts ii. 20.]

to represent the deportation of the worshippers into a strange country, from the garden of Eden into a desolate wilderness, from Sion unto Babylon; others in the sharper accent of the threefold woe in Josephus[a] and the Apocalypse to set out the captivity of the very worship and temple itself; destroying the sanctuary, causing the sacrifice and oblation to cease, banishing even their eyes and thoughts from the wonted joy and delight of both,—the κλητὴ ἁγία, 'the holy convocation,' and the 'beauty of that holiness,'—and of this the conclusion is but equitable, this "is a lamentation, and it shall be for a lamentation." CHAP. I. Rev. 8. 13. [Exod. xii. 16.] [1 Chron. xvi. 29.] [Ezek. xix. 14.]

7. Lastly, to come nearer home, to the most flourishing, once purest Christian assemblies, we have in vision from St. John in his exile, predictions of Churches, and their angels, both threatened a deportation, of removing Ephesus her "candlestick out of the place," putting the lamp thereof, fitly qualified to have enlightened the whole room, under the narrow bounds of a bed or bushel, of delivering up whole assemblies to Satan, that he may cast them into prison, sentencing them to black and dark restraints, the sins of professors being the forges or moulds of such more than iron fetters, whereby even the word of God is taught to be bound, when the free use of it hath been abused by them. [Rev. ii. 5.]

8. That these are the very lines that make up the face of sorrow that is at present on this Church, is none of the advertisements that we can stand in need of at this time, the matter itself speaks too loud to be news to any of us.

9. The doubts that are more apt to exercise men's thoughts are founded in the acknowledgment of it, and every one hath borrowed his objection or argument from one of Job's friends, to add some weight of sorrow to her whom God hath afflicted. A few of these it may be pertinent to examine awhile, instead of further enlarging on our θρηνωδία.

[a] See Euseb., lib. iii. c. 8. [p. 73, 74.]

CHAP. II.

A FIRST OBJECTION, OR ARGUMENT OF OUR GUILT, DRAWN FROM OUR PRESENT CONDITION; ANSWERED IN THE FORMER BRANCH OF IT; THE JUDGMENT APPORTIONED TO OUR SINS.

1. It is first made matter of argument against our Church and establishment, that God hath found us out, that it is because of transgressions that an host hath been given against the daily sacrifice, and therein hath practised and prospered, and that prosperousness interpreted to be God's own decision, as signal as any response from the Ephod, a sentence by Urim and Thummim, that it is no other than the quarrel of God, which He hath thus signally managed against us.

2. This argument thus proposed hath somewhat which must be granted, and by no means denied, by us; and for the other part, wherein it is fallacious, it brings sufficient light with it to assist us in the discovery of the paralogism. And it may be worth the while distinctly to consider it, in these two branches of it.

[Num. xxxii. 23.] 3. First I say, it must not be denied, but that "our sins have found us out," all the punishments we have undergone being but the just and withal merciful reward of our sins.

Luke xiii. 3. 4. For although we are by our Saviour's answer restrained from making such inferences of other men, to conclude their guilts by their sufferings, though Job's friends are rebuked for this kind of logic, arguing his insincerity from the pressures that fell upon him, yet such methods are very safe to be used by ourselves toward ourselves. We are now obliged, and never more loudly called on to judge ourselves, though it be not allowed to any man else to judge us upon these premises.

[All punishment brought on by sin.] 5. It is, I say, true beyond all contradiction, and never more applicable to any than to us, that all God's punishments, especially His spiritual, and heaviest sort of them, are brought upon men by their sins. The lover of souls, the patient and long-suffering Father of all consolations and mercies, never puts on the guise or armature of an enemy,

but when our methods have suggested this, and our unreformed sins made it doubly necessary, to vindicate himself, and to chastise us. And herein how bitter soever our portion prove, though to have our lot with Admah and Zeboim, to be thrown away as straw to the dunghill, or unprofitable servants into utter darkness, yet our hands are on our mouths, the honour of a most perfect righteousness belongeth unto our judge, and to us confusion of face, as at this day. [Deut. xxix. 23.]

6. And we shall be foully to blame if these so generous medicaments do not, in some proportion to the wisdom and design of our great Physician, prove effectually operative beyond all the former gentler methods, if the sins that have lain disguised in their closest concealments, kept so strictly from the eyes of men, and in our design of God Himself, that they have even been unknown to ourselves, do not now upon this scrutiny give God the honour, come forth and offer themselves to justice.

7. This is indeed but our just return to our sins finding us out, for us to find out our sins, to act this one revenge on them, to deliver those up to wrath which have so signally delivered up us. And instead of shaking off or taking leave of this part of the argument too hastily, I shall desire to give it its full scope, to reap as much benefit by it as we may, and take notice of some at least of those guilts, which the signatures we discern in the judgment, the lines in this hand of God, do according to the rules of the steadiest augury, point out and discover to us.

8. And 1. The deep though most causeless displeasure under which the Liturgy of our Church is fallen, is a shrewd indication of the great coldness and indevotion so scandalously frequent among us, of the formal perfunctory performance of our offices, nay, of the many foul profane mixtures which have so frequently interposed, and by a kind of fascination converted the most spotless sacrifice into the very lame and the sick, the purest unleavened offering into bitter polluted bread upon God's altar, and then no marvel that God should have no pleasure, and at length refuse to accept an offering from such *mystæ*. [In this case the sin of indevotion.] Mal. i. 8. 7. 10.

9. We know the unwashed hands that brought it defamed the sacrifice of God's own ordaining, blasted the very incense Isai. i. 13. 11. 14.

CHAP. II.

and fat of fed beasts, the sabbaths and calling of assemblies, and turned them into mere abominations; and then what wonder that what he detests and cannot away with he should permit to be destroyed? lay down that weight which he is weary to bear? suffer that to be deemed an abomination and used accordingly which our unsanctified usage hath made such?

10. To descend to some particulars; our continued obstinate unreformed sins have made forms of confession and contrition unfit to be taken into our mouths; those cannot be repeated by such, without gross hypocrisy and belying ourselves before God and men, and then what possibility is there, that the ministerial absolution should with any justice be applied to us?

11. And for that sacred form of words which Christ commanded us to use in our addresses to our Father, "When ye pray, say, 'Our Father,' &c.;" there needs no other argument for the discountenancing of it,—and hell itself can yield no other, though search hath been made into all topics to find some,—this one is sufficient for the rending it from us, our unqualifiedness for the rehearsing the several petitions of it.

[Luke xi. 2.]

12. We that are so far from our due charity to others that we are not at unity within ourselves, that live so unlike children that we have not so much as the livery of the servants of God, with what face can we hourly and solemnly invoke our Father? we that do actually with horrid oaths defile and reproach the name of God, cannot be thought to be in earnest when we require it may be hallowed. We that like rebels have dethroned God out of our hearts, cannot without the same mockery that the soldiers were guilty of in the crown of thorns, and purple robe, and ironical salutation, instyle Him king, or pray for that coming of His kingdom. And as long as we mutiny and repine at the execution of God's will in heaven, it is not possible we should heartily beg that honour of transcribing the angels' pattern of cheerful diligent obedience to His will on earth. Our wants may seem indeed to qualify us for an ardent address of the fourth petition; but our surfeiting on manna makes us of all others the least fit to go out to gather it. And the bread that came down from

John xix. 3.

heaven being so neglected by us, with what face can we ask that other which we mean but to consume upon our lusts? but beyond all we are most unqualified for that petition wherein we set our forgiving of trespassers, as the pattern for God to copy out in forgiving us. It is but just that they which are implacable to enemies should be excluded from, if they will not voluntarily renounce all part in this prayer, this legacy of Christ's to the merciful. Why should they be inclinable to use a form which is so ill fitted to their constitutions, an imprecation on those whom they tender most dearly? And yet those which are most unwilling to lose their right in His donative, have not been to that degree they ought mindful of the condition, without which they do but call for vengeance upon their own heads, when they are most importunate for mercy and forgiveness. In a word, they that solicit and even court temptations, invade sin and Satan in his own territories, not to subdue but to be subdued by him, how can they pray not to be led into temptation, or be reconciled to themselves for hoping deliverance from those evils which themselves have brought down upon themselves? CHAP. II.

13. As for the sacraments they also may deserve to be reflected on a while by us.

14. The baptism of infants is well known to have of late found great opposition among us, many with some earnestness, as it were their solid concernment, denying their tender years the enjoyment of this privilege, whereby the benefits of the death of Christ,—of which the Catholic Church against the Pelagians defined all that are born in sin to stand in need,—are according to His institution sealed unto them. [Baptism of infants of late opposed.]

15. And for others which retaining kindness to the Directory, do in obedience thereto maintain infant baptism, yet have they taken away the form of abrenunciation, though such as hath been universally practised in the Church of all ages[b], and that as delivered to them by the Apostles them-

[b] [Denique ut a baptismate ingrediar] aquam adituri ibidem, sed et aliquanto prius (viz. in the preparing the catechumenus for baptism) in ecclesia sub antistitis manu contestamur, nos renuntiare diabolo et pompæ et angelis ejus. [Dehinc ter mergitamur] amplius aliquid respondentes quam Dominus in evangelio determinavit.—Tertull. de Coron. Mil., cap. 3.

So the author de Eccl. Hierarch., (very ancient,) cap. 2. edit. Par. ap. Morel. [1615.] p. 77. [εἶτα στήσας ἐπὶ δυσμαῖς προσέχοντα, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀπωθοῦντα, πρὸς τὴν αὐτὴν ἀπεστραμμένας χώραν,] ἐμφυσῆσαι μὲν αὐτῷ τρὶς διακελεύεται τῷ Σατανᾷ, καὶ προσέτι τὰ τῆς ἀποταγῆς ὁμολογῆσαι, καὶ τρὶς αὐτῷ τὴν

CHAP. II.

selves [c], and in every word almost of that form which is re-

ἀποταγὴν μαρτυρόμενος, ὁμολογήσαντα τρὶς τοῦτο μετάγει πρὸς ἕω, καὶ πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἀναβλέψαντα καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείναντα, κελεύει συντάξασθαι τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ πάσαις ταῖς θεοπαραδότοις ἱερολογίαις.

So Chrysost. [ad illumin. Catech., tom. ii. p. 238, A.] διὰ τοῦτο κελευόμεθα λέγειν, ἀποτάσσομαί σοι Σατανᾶ, ἵνα μηκέτι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπανέλθωμεν. And ibid., p. 242. ἂν ἀναμνησθῇς τῆς φωνῆς ἐκείνης, ἣν ἀφῆκας μυσταγωγουμένη, ἀποτάσσομαί σοι Σατανᾶ, καὶ τῇ πομπῇ σοῦ, καὶ τῇ λατρείᾳ σοῦ; [ἡ γὰρ περὶ τὸν κόσμον τῶν μαργαριτῶν μανία πομπὴ σατανικὴ ἐστι· χρυσίον γὰρ ἔλαβες οὐχ ἵνα τὸ σῶμα καταδήσῃς, ἀλλ' ἵνα τοὺς πένητας λύσῃς καὶ διαθρέψῃς· λέγε τοίνυν συνεχῶς, ἀποτάσσομαί σοι Σατανᾶ· οὐδὲν ταύτης ἀσφαλέστερον τῆς φωνῆς εἰ διὰ τῶν ἔργων αὐτὴν ἐπιδειξώμεθα. ταύτην καὶ ὑμᾶς τοὺς μυσταγωγεῖσθαι μέλλοντας μαθεῖν ἀξιῶ·] adding *infra* αὕτη γὰρ ἡ φωνὴ συνθήκη πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην ἐστί· (making it the covenant on our part) καὶ καθάπερ ἡμεῖς οἰκέτας ἀγοράζοντες, αὐτοὺς [τοὺς πωλουμένους] πρότερον ἐρωτῶμεν, εἰ βούλονται ἡμῖν δουλεῦσαι, οὕτω καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ποιεῖ· [ἐπειδὴ μέλλει σε εἰς δουλείαν λαμβάνειν, πρότερον] ἐρωτᾷ, εἰ βούλει τὸν τύραννον ἐκεῖνον ἀφεῖναι [τὸν ὠμὸν καὶ ἀπηνῆ, καὶ συνθήκας δέχεται παρὰ σοῦ.]

So Augustine de Nuptiis et Concupiscentiis, lib. i. cap. 20. [tom. x. p. 292.] Potestas diabolica exorcizatur in parvulis, eique renunciant, quia per sua non possunt, per corda et ora gestantium.

So Ambrose [Comment. Supposit.] in Col. ii. [tom. ii. p. 268. Illic enim homo vetus deponitur et novus assumitur; peccatis moritur ut vivat justitiæ; elementis abrenunciat, ut Christo societur resurrectionis futuræ tenens pignus exemplum salvatoris qui resurrexit ex mortuis. Hæc igitur commonet ut perseverent in abrenuntiatione pompæ et præstigiis Satanæ. And again, ibid., p. 270. Omnis qui baptizatur in Christo moritur mundo; cunctis enim superstitionum erroribus abrenunciat ut solam colat fidem Christi.] And lib. de Myst. cap. 2. tom. i. p. 326. [Post hæc reserata tibi sunt sancta sanctorum, ingressus es regenerationis sacramentum:] repete quid interrogatus sis, recognosce quid responderis. Renuntiasti diabolo et operibus ejus, [mundo et luxuriæ ejus ac voluptatibus. Tenetur vox tua non in tumulo mortuorum, sed in libro viventium.]

And Hexaem., lib. i. c. 4. [tom. i. p. 7. Regeneratis itaque dicitur: *Mensis hic vobis initium mensium, primus est vobis in mensibus anni.* Derelinquit enim et] deserit qui abluitur, [intelligibilem illum Pharao,] principem istius mundi, dicens: abrenuntio tibi diabole et angelis tuis, et operibus tuis et imperiis tuis.

And Hierome ad Mat. v. [tom. vii. p. 28. Quidam coactius disserunt in baptismate singulos pactum inire cum diabolo et dicere:] renuntio tibi diabole et pompæ tuæ et vitiis tuis et mundo tuo qui in maligno positus est.

And Salvianus de gubernatione Dei lib. vi. [cap. 6.] Quæ est [enim] in baptismo salutari Christianorum prima confessio? Quæ scilicet nisi [ut] renuntiare se diabolo ac pompis ejus atque spectaculis et operibus protestentur?

[c] S. Basil. de Spiritu Sancto ad Amphiloch. cap. 27. tom. iii. p. 54, 55, giving many instances τῶν ἐν [τῇ] ἐκκλησίᾳ πεφυλαγμένων δογμάτων, καὶ κηρυγμάτων ἐκ τῆς τῶν Ἀποστόλων παραδόσεως [διαδοθέντων ἡμῖν] mentions this among them, ἀποτάσσεσθαι τῷ Σατανᾷ, καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ, ἐκ ποίας, saith he, ἐστὶ γραφῆς; οὐκ ἐκ τῆς ἀδημοσιεύτου ταύτης καὶ ἀπορρήτου διδασκαλίας, ἣν ἐν ἀπολυπραγμονήτῳ καὶ ἀπεριεργάστῳ σιγῇ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐφύλαξαν, [καλῶς ἐκεῖνο δεδιδαγμένοι, τῶν μυστηρίων τὸ σεμνὸν σιωπῇ διασώζεσθαι;] And before him Origen. [Sed et eucharistiæ sive percipiendæ, sive eo ritu quo geritur explicandæ vel] eorum quæ geruntur in baptismo verborum [gestorumque et ordinum] atque interrogationum ac responsionum quis facile explicet rationem? Et tamen omnia hæc operta et velata portamus super humeros nostros, cum ita implemus ea et exsequimur ut a magno pontifice atque ejus filiis tradita et commendata suscepimus.—Hom. v. in. Num., tom. ii. p. 284 F.

And so Tertullian ubi supra. Hanc si nulla scriptura determinavit certe consuetudo corroboravit quæ sine dubio de traditione manavit. [Quomodo enim usurpari quid potest, si traditum prius non est? Etiam in traditionis obtentu exigenda est (inquis) auctoritas scripta. Ergo] quæramus an et traditio nisi scripta non debeat recipi. [Plane negabimus recipiendam si nulla exempla præjudicent aliarum observationum quas sine ullius scripturæ instrumento solius traditionis titulo, exinde consuetudinis patrocinio vindica-

tained in our Liturgy [d], and that extended to the tenderest infants [e]. Only instead of this the people are appointed to be taught, "that all that are baptized do renounce, and by their baptism are bound to fight against the devil, the world, and the flesh [f]," which yet cannot with any truth be affirmed of those that neither do it by themselves nor by their proxies. And it is not sufficient to say they do it interpretatively, for unless it have been the constant custom of the Church that they who are baptized should use forms of abrenunciation, they that are baptized without using them cannot be pretended to do it interpretatively, and if it have been the constant custom, then how can they be excused that they have resolvedly omitted it? And besides, the condition of covenants (such is abrenunciation here) ought to be expressed, and so the Church from the Apostles hath always exacted the expressing it before the sealing of this covenant. And yet, I say, this, though it be such an apostolical rite, containing no inconsiderable supervacaneous condition and qualification in the person baptized, is by interdicting the administration of baptism according to the ancient order of our Church, or by those which have continued constant to that order, endeavoured to be superseded and removed from among us. CHAP. II.

16. And the wisdom and justice and mercy of God is remarkable in this, thereby branding our infamous repeated innumerable breaches of this vow, our perjurious acting of all those sins with confidence and without regrets, which we did so solemnly renounce and defy in our baptism.

mus. Denique] ut a baptismate ingrediar, &c. [See note b, p. 303.]

[d] So Cyril of Jerusalem in his *μυσταγωγία*, or *ἱερ. κατηχ.*—*τί οὖν ὑμῶν ἕκαστος ἐστὼς ἔλεγεν; ἀποτάσσομάι σοι Σατανᾶ, σοὶ τῷ πονηρῷ καὶ ὠμοτάτῳ τυράννῳ, κ.τ.λ.*

εἶτα ἐν δευτέρᾳ λέξει μανθάνεις λέγειν, καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἔργοις σου, κ.τ λ.

εἶτα λέγεις, καὶ πάσῃ τῇ πομπῇ αὐτοῦ. πομπὴ δὲ διαβόλου ἐστὶ θεατρομανίαι, καὶ ἱπποδρομίαι, κυνηγεσία καὶ πᾶσα τοιαύτη ματαιότης.

πλὴν τοῦτο ἴσθι, ὅτι ὅσα λέγεις, μάλιστα κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν φρικωδεστάτην ὥραν ἔγγραφά ἐστι ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Θεοῦ βιβλίοις· ἐπειδὰν τοίνυν ἐναντίον τι διαπραττόμενος τούτοις ᾖς ὡς παραβάτης κριθήσῃ· ἀποτάσσῃ τοίνυν τοῖς ἔργοις τοῦ Σατανᾶ, πάσαις φημὶ πράξεσι καὶ ἐπινοίαις παρὰ λόγον γενομέναις.—Cat. xix. Mystag. i. cap. 4—6. pp. 307, 308.

[e] The author de Eccl. Hierarch., cap. 7. pp. 152, 153. *τοῦτον οὖν ὁ ἱεράρχης ὁμολογοῦντα κατὰ τὴν ἱερὰν ἀνάγειν τὸν παῖδα ζωὴν ἀπαιτεῖ τὰς ἀποταγὰς ὁμολογῆσαι, καὶ τὰς ἱερὰς ὁμολογίας, οὐκ ἂν ὡς ἐκεῖνοι γελῶντες φαῖεν ἄλλον ἀντ' ἄλλου τὰ θεῖα μυῶν, οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῦτό φησιν, ὡς ὑπὲρ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐγὼ τὰς ἀποταγὰς, ἢ τὰς ἱερὰς ὁμολογίας ποιοῦμαι, ἀλλ' ὅτι παῖς ἀποτάσσεται καὶ συντάσσεται, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ὁμολογῶ τὸν παῖδα πείσειν εἰς νοῦν ἱερὸν ἰόντα ταῖς ἐμαῖς ἐνθέοις ἀναγωγαῖς, ἀποτάξασθαι μὲν ὁλικῶς τοῖς ἐναντίοις, ὁμολογῆσαι δὲ καὶ ἐνεργῆσαι τὰς θείας ὁμολογίας.* So Augustine, ubi supra.

[f] Directory of Baptism, p. 42. [ed. 1646.]

CHAP. II.

17. The greatness of that crime of rescinding oaths, and renouncing abrenunciations, was that which made the ancient discipline of the Church so severe against every presumptuous act of sin after baptism, in respect of the heightening circumstances of such, drawn from the solemnity of that vow against which they were committed, and of that presence in which that vow was made, and of that weight[g] which is set upon it by God, and of that judgment which attends every breach of it. And our scandalous negligence in this kind is by this interdict signally pointed out to us; it is pity we should ever want any more admonitions, or venture again upon one such provocation, "lest a worse thing yet happen to us," this being, if rightly considered, bad enough already.

[John v. 14.]

[The other Sacrament profaned.]

18. In like manner and upon the same grounds of our unreformed sins, it is that the Sacrament of Christ's body and blood should be in all justice withdrawn from those who have no way approved themselves for the "eating of that bread and drinking that cup," this greatest severity being by our unprepared hearts converted into the only seasonable mercy; it being little for the advantage, or even the sensuality, of the swine, to have the trampling of pearls under their feet, and as little for the unworthy receivers to deal after the same manner with the blood of the covenant.

[1 Cor. xi. 26.]

[Marriage deformed.]

19. And why should the sacramentals escape better than the Sacraments? Marriage we know is become so deformed among us, so extremely unlike the union betwixt Christ and His Church, by which St. Paul thought meet to resemble it, the band is so frequently and so scandalously torn asunder, the designs of it ordinarily so very unlike what they ought to be, so more than polluted by either earthy or sensual considerations, that the mysterious band is in danger to become ὅλη σὰρξ, 'all flesh,' nothing but luxury and brutishness, and in proportion thereto the very rites of it so wholly transformed from the γάμοι, or 'nuptial feasts' in Scripture, (honoured by Christ's presence,) into the saturnalia or heathen riots in Macrobius, that it were even a reproach to the Church's service, especially to the offertory, and Sacrament of Christ's body (which our Rubric exacts indispensably from

[Eph. v. 32.]

[John ii. 2.]

[g] [See note d, p. 305.]

the married couple at the time of their espousals[h]) to bear part in such kind of solemnities. And to these, and the like provocations, we may reasonably impute it, that the binding and blessing those bands, and rendering them truly sacred, to which the bishop's or presbyter's hands were always thought necessary from the Apostles' days[i] through all ages of the Church over all the world, is now solemnly laid aside, and no image of it reserved to the Church, the presbyterian minister, as well as the prelatist (which in other particulars have not the like fellowship), not only the Liturgy but the Directory deemed superfluous, and equally impertinent in this matter.

[Many unworthy of Christian burial.]

20. And so the office for burial, which is now under the like proscription, may well be our seasonable admonition, and memorative of the sublime and sacred uses to which our living bodies were by God designed, even to be the *ναοὶ ἔμψυχοι*, 'the animate walking temples' of His Spirit, and to bear their parts with the soul in all the devotions it offers up, (the eye, the hand, the knee, the tongue, being thus obliged as well as the heart,) but are commonly so obstinately withdrawn from all holy offices, and so profaned and polluted with our unsanctified practices, that as to so many *felos-dese*, so many sacrilegious, anathematized persons, the burial of an ass or dog is but fitly apportioned, and upon that account all more decent ceremonies or regard, all offerings for the dead, though but for a joyful resurrection, withdrawn from us.

[Jer. xxii. 19.]

[h] [The concluding rubric of the marriage service before the last revision of the Liturgy was: The new married persons, the same day of their marriage, must receive the holy communion. This rubric, which had remained unaltered since the first prayer-book of Edward VI., was changed at the restoration into: It is convenient that the new married persons should receive the holy communion at the time of their marriage, or at the first opportunity after their marriage.]

[i] *πρέπει* [δὲ] *τοῖς γαμοῦσι καὶ* [*ταῖς*] *γαμουμέναις, μετὰ γνώμης τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τὴν ἕνωσιν ποιεῖσθαι,* [*ἵνα ὁ γάμος ᾖ κατὰ Θεὸν, καὶ μὴ κατ' ἐπιθυμίαν· πάντα εἰς τιμὴν Θεοῦ γινέσθω.*]—S. Ignat. Ep. ad Polycarp. [cap. 5.]

[Unde sufficiam ad enarrandam felicitatem ejus matrimonii] quod ecclesia conciliat, et confirmat oblatio, et obsignatum angeli renunciant, [pater rato habet?]—Tertull. ad Uxor., lib. ii. cap. 9.

[Ideo penes nos occultæ quoque] conjunctiones, [id est] non prius apud ecclesiam professæ, juxta mœchiam [et fornicationem] judicari periclitantur. —Id. de pudic., cap. 4.

Sponsus et sponsa cum benedicendi sunt a sacerdote, [a parentibus suis vel paranymphis offerantur. Qui cum benedictionem acceperint, eadem nocte pro reverentia ipsius benedictionis in virginitate permaneant.]—Concil. Carthag. iv. [(A.D. 398.)] Canon 13.

Qui in toto orbe sunt sacerdotes, nuptiarum initia benedicentes, consecrantes, et in [Dei] mysteriis sociantes. —[Sirmondi] Prædestinat. Hæresis, [lib. iii. cap. 31. p. 210. ed. Par. 8vo, 1643.]

CHAP. II.

21. And even the creeds of the Catholic Church, that great *depositum*, which the Apostles in their several plantations left as the summary of all that was to be believed to our souls' health, and foundation of all Christian practice and reformation, together with the Nicene (or Constantinopolitan) and Athanasian enlargements of that, for the securing that *depositum*, and for the expulsing all heresies risen up against it. All these now being fallen under the same ostracism, with the other parts of the inheritance of the Church, must serve to advertise us that a pure faith attended with impure lives, foundations of reformation laid by God, without any conformable superstructures of ours, are like the talent laid up in a napkin, αὐτοκατακρίσεις, 'testifications' and 'self-confessions' of an unprofitable wicked servant, and so very fit to be taken away from them who have made such unchristian uses of them.

[The creeds abused by being professed by persons of impure life.]

[Luke xix. 20.]

22. The Solifidian that must be saved by his faith without works, and hath found out artifices to elude St. James' exhortation and resolution, that such a faith will never save or justify any, well deserves to have his amulet taken away from him, to be deprived of the instrument of his destructive security, as the Jews were of the temple of the Lord, when that was become the great sanctuary and reserve of safety for all their unsanctified practices.

[Contempt of the clergy]

23. As for the contempt of the persons of those that have been set apart to that venerable office of waiting on God's altar, and at length the interdict that is fallen upon them, there be many matters of seasonable admonition, which seem to be designed us thereby. First, it may mind us of a considerable defect.

24. For though the four Ember weeks were according to ancient custom preserved for fasting and praying, and that in order to that business of greatest weight, "praying to the Lord of the harvest that He would send forth fit labourers into the harvest," (therein transcribing the example of the apostolic Church,) yet there being no special service[k] appointed in our Liturgy for those times, it is too probable that

[Matt. ix. 38; Luke x. 2.]

Acts xiii. 3.

[k] [The two prayers for those that are to be admitted into holy orders, to be said every day in the ember weeks, were added at the last revision of the Liturgy.]

duty being left to every man's voluntary private devotions, hath been very much neglected, which neglect was therefore thus to receive its chastisement from God. CHAP. II.

25. Secondly, the admission of some men into that calling which were not duly qualified for it; and the negligent and unworthy performances of the offices of so sacred a function, and the many profane mixtures, the seeking our own wealth, and ease, and praise, &c., qualifying us for that contempt and ruin which is now fallen upon us; and lastly, the unprofitableness of the people in the midst of very plentiful means of instruction, were all fit to be thus disciplined with a famine of the word, or unwholesome food in exchange for that ἄδολον γάλα, 'sincere' and 'unmixed,' which began to be nauseated. And many other sad reflections this may seasonably suggest to us. [1 Pet. ii. 2.]

26. And so in like manner for holy times and places which are fallen under so great displeasure and contempt, even those that have been consecrated not only to the honourable memory and imitation of the Apostles and saints and martyrs of God, but even to the commemoration of the most glorious mysteries of our redemption, the most signal mercies of Christ Himself, the deprivation of these blessed seasons and advantages cannot but mind us how they have been formerly neglected, and even despised, and so either way profaned and sacrilegiously handled by us, instead of being instrumental to the inciting and advancing,—as they were sure designed,—the works of holiness in us. [and of holy times and places]

27. In a word, (to cut off and omit many particulars in this large and vast field of useful meditation, beseeching every man to examine his guilts by such reflections as these,) when the characters or discriminative marks of the English reformation are principally two, one the conforming all our doctrines to the primitive antiquity, receiving all genuine apostolical traditions for our rule both in matters of faith and government; the other in uniting that καλὴν συνωρίδα, fair, beautiful pair of faith and works, in the same degree of necessity and conditionality both to our justification and salvation, and to all the good works of justice and mercy which the Romanist speaks of, adjoining that other most eminent one of humility, attributing nothing to ourselves, [such that it is just men should be deprived of them.]

CHAP. II.

when we have done all, but all to the glory of the mercy and grace of God, purchased for us by Christ; it is but just that they which have walked unworthy of such guides and rules as these, lived so contrary to our profession, should at length be deprived of both, not only to have our two staves broken, beauty and bands, the symbols of order and unity, both which have now for some years taken their leaves of us, but even to have the whole fabric demolished, the house to follow the pillar's fate, and so to be left; and abide "without a sacrifice, and without an image, and without an ephod, and without Teraphim," deprived of all our ornaments, left naked and bare, when we had misused our beauty unto wantonness. Thus when the devil was turned out of his habitation, and nothing followed but the sweeping and garnishing the house and keeping it empty of any better guest, the issue is, the devil soon returns again, from whence he came out, and brings "seven spirits worse than himself," and the "end of that state is worse than the beginning."

[Zech. xi. 7. 10. 14.]

Hos. iii. 4.

[Matt. xii. 45; Luke xi. 26.]

28. And so still the taking of the ark, and the breaking the high-priest's neck, and the slaying his sons, and many more, in that discomfiture, are all far from new or strange, being but the proper natural effects of the profanations which not the ark itself, that was built every pin of it according to God's direction, but the sacrificers, not the religion, but the worshippers were so scandalously guilty of.

29. Thus we that are taught by Christ to "love our enemies," and by nature and natural kindness to ourselves to receive all profit we may by their oppositions, must make our advantage of the first part of the objection, distinguishing betwixt the innocence or guiltlessness,—nay more than so, fruitfulness and goodness,—of the land, and the barrenness, and wickedness, and provocations of them that dwell therein, for whose sake it is regular with God to make that fruitful land barren, to convert the milk and honey of Canaan into gall and wormwood, to leave it to imitate and copy out the temper of the inhabitants,—whom yet His own hand of transcendant special mercy had once planted there,—to suffer it to petrify and degenerate,—as geographers tell us of that once good land,—into rock and mine, at once to punish and reproach their obdurate, impenitent hearts.

[Matt. v. 44.]

And yet still discerning the blessedness of that Canaan, both in itself and to us, as long as we were thought worthy to enjoy it; and indeed judging by this one κριτήριον,—if we wanted all others,—that it was a most precious establishment, because such provokers could not, in the justice and wisdom of God, be longer allowed the fruition of it.

[Our punishment in the deprivation of what was valuable.]

30. Herein our punishment consists, that that which we are deprived of was truly valuable. It is not a vengeance but a boon to have poisonous drugs snatched from us and cast out into the sink; ordinances that are not good abolished and nailed to the cross; and in like manner it is but proportionable to our merits to have even the kingdom of heaven taken from us, that initial part, the suburbs and confines of it here, and bestowed on them that are more worthy, and so capable of receiving benefit by such jewels.

31. Let us, therefore, here stop a while to do our duty upon our knees to this first part of the objection, by reflecting on those sins which have thus found us out.

A PRAYER

FITTED FOR A DAY OF HUMILIATION.

O JUST and righteous Judge, who didst once for the iniquity of Thy people Israel give up Thy ark into the hand of the Philistines, we sinful creatures that are now under as great a degree both of guilt and punishment, do here cast ourselves down before Thee, acknowledging that we are not worthy any longer to receive the honour of Christian profession, that have so long defamed it by enormous practices; and that we who loved darkness more than light deserve to have our candlestick removed, and to be given up to that inundation of atheism and profaneness which now invades this gasping Church. Yet, O Lord, deal not with us after our sins, but turn Thee again, Thou God of Hosts, look down from heaven, behold and visit this vine; do not abhor us for Thy name's sake, do not disgrace the throne of Thy glory. Behold, see, we beseech Thee, we are all Thy people; though a rebellious and stiff-necked generation, yet Thy name is called upon us, leave us not, neither forsake us, O God of

CHAP. II.

our salvation; but though Thou feed us with bread of adversity and water of affliction, yet let not our teachers be removed into a corner, but let our eyes still see our teachers; let not Sion complain that she hath none to lead her by the hand among all the sons that she hath brought up, but provide her such supports in this her declining condition that she may still have a seed and a remnant left; and in what degree soever Thou shalt permit this storm to increase upon this poor Church, be pleased proportionably to fortify and confirm all those that are members of it, that no man may be shaken or moved with these afflictions, nor pervert that glorious advantage of suffering for Thee into an occasion of apostatizing from Thee, but that we may all run with patience the race that is set before us, and cheerfully partake of the afflictions of the gospel; that suffering for Christ here, we may reign with Him for ever hereafter, and all this for Jesus Christ's sake, our only Lord and Saviour. Amen.

ANOTHER.

O Thou King of nations, who dost according to Thy will in all the kingdoms of the earth, who hast made us drink deep of that cup of trembling, and yet seemest to have bitter dregs behind for us, we Thy wretched creatures that have highly contributed to that common weight of sin under which the land sinks, humbly prostrate ourselves at Thy feet, desiring with all sincere contrition to confess that Thou art righteous in all that is hitherto come upon us, all that we have yet suffered being but the sad arrear of the sins of our peace, when we waxed fat and kicked; and that Thou shalt likewise be most just in the utmost of Thy future inflictions, which, whatsoever they prove, cannot exceed the sins of our calamitous days, who in the time of our distress have sinned yet more against the Lord, who have even passed through the fire to Moloch, with an undaunted obstinacy suffered all the flamings of Thy wrath, rather than we would renounce any of our detestable things. Nay, as if our old were too infirm, we have made new leagues with death, new agreements with hell, proceeding from evil to worse, and

making every new calamity Thou sendest to reclaim us the occasion of some fresh impiety. And now, O Lord, wilt Thou not visit for these things, shall not Thy soul be avenged on such a nation as this? We are they, O Lord, that have perverted all Thy dispensations towards us, grown wanton under Thy mercies, and desperate under Thy judgments, and is there yet any third method left for those that have frustrated both these? Behold, O Lord, these desperate, these gasping patients at Thy feet, who have lost sense and motion to all things but the resistance of their remedy. O give us not utterly over, but continue to administer to us whatever may remove this stupefaction, and bring us to a feeling of our condition; and what sharpness and severity soever Thou discernest necessary for that purpose, forbear not, O Lord, to give us those wounds of a friend. O say not concerning us, Why should ye be smitten any more? But rather cast us into the place of dragons, and cover us with the shadow of death, if by so doing we may be brought to remember the name of the Lord our God. Lord, this is the one great necessary wherein we are principally concerned to solicit Thee, that our eyes may be opened, that we may see every man the plague of his own heart; that so instead of those atheistical disputes we make of Thy providence, we may all join in an humble adoration of Thy justice, and confessing that our destruction is of ourselves, abhor ourselves, and repent in dust and ashes. And when by this great deliverance Thou hast put us in capacity of a less, then be Thou pleased to be jealous for Thy land, and pity Thy people, and whatever other judgment we must groan under, Lord deliver us not up to that barbarism and irreligion which hath already made too great a breach in upon us. We cannot but confess it most just in Thee to permit us, who have so long resisted the power of godliness, to proceed now to cast off even the very form, and that we who would not receive the love of the truth should be given over to strong delusions, to believe lies; and this saddest effect of Thy wrath hath already overtaken many among us, and doth universally threaten the rest. For since Thou hast laid waste the wall of Thy vineyard, what can we expect but that it should be trodden down? Thou hast broken

CHAP. II.

CHAP. II.

our two staves, beauty and bands, all order and unity, the necessary supports of a Church, at once perishing from among us. The solemn feasts are forgotten in Sion, her elders sit upon the ground and keep silence, whilst they whom Thou hast not sent run, whilst those to whom Thou hast not spoken prophesy. We, O Lord, who might once have gone with the multitude to the house of God, are now interdicted the more private exercises and celebrations of Thy service. This, this, O Lord, is the insupportable part of our afflictions, the sting of all our misery; if we had been only sold for bondmen and bondwomen we could have held our peace; but Thine abhorring Thine altar, and casting off Thy sanctuary, this is for a lamentation, and must be for a lamentation. Thy servants think upon the stones of Sion, and it pitieth them to see her in the dust. O let not all those tears and prayers that are poured out for her return empty: and because Thou hast Thyself recommended to us the efficacy of importunity, be Thou pleased to give us that grace to excite and stir up all that make mention of the Lord, that they may give Thee no rest till Thou establish our Jerusalem again a praise in the earth. To that end, O Lord, give us pastors after Thine own heart, such priests whose lips may preserve knowledge, and make us diligently to seek the law at their mouths; and grant that we being by this deprivation taught the value of such precious advantages, and the sin of our former contemning them, may unanimously contend for the regaining them, by a cordial forsaking those sins which have turned away these good things from us. Grant this, gracious Lord, for His sake whom Thou hast sent forth to be our propitiation, Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

CHAP. III.

A VIEW OF THE SECOND PART OF THE OBJECTION. THE PERISHING OF THE RIGHTEOUS.

[Persecution or subversion of a

1. I NOW proceed to the second and more principal part of the answer,—in reference to the latter part of the objec-

tion,—which on the grounds premised must be this, that the improsperousness and persecutions, and even subversion and eradication of a particular Church, is no way an evidence, nay, not so much as a probable argument, that that was nocent which thus perisheth, but only that they were unworthy which are thus deprived, and that too good to be enjoyed by them.

[Church no evidence against it, but against its members.]

2. An indication of this the text referred to in the proposal of the objection doth expressly afford us. The whole verse runs thus: "an host was given him against the daily sacrifice by reason of transgression, and it cast down the truth to the ground, and it practised and prospered."

[Dan. viii. 12.]

3. Here indeed transgression is the one procatarctic, external impulsive cause, moving God to give that destroying host to the little horn, and to continue so prodigious a success and prosperity to it; and this transgression not that of the horn or host,—which yet oft provokes God even in judgment to give them such kind of destructive prosperities, whether to be presently out of their debt,—to pay Nebuchadnezzar that hire which is due to him for being instrumental to some of God's purposes,—or to allow them, like Dives, their good things in this life,—but I suppose the transgression of those against whom the host prospers, just as in our case it is.

4. But then still it is the daily sacrifice and the truth which it is thus empowered to cast down. The sacrifice we know of God's own prescribing, and such as was an act of His special favour to that, above any other nation, that He so prescribed it; and this worship so true, so acceptable to God, that as He exacted it daily, loved to have it always before Him, came constantly to meet with them at the seasons of offering it, and was propitiated thereby; so it is there, by way of excellence, and in the abstract, styled truth, and the truth itself. And this the fittest as for that host to cast to the ground, so for those transgressors to be deprived of, such as for whom no ill thing being too bad, any good thing was too precious to be continued to them.

5. In like manner, when the temple was kept from being re-edified, when the *sanctum sanctorum* was profaned, will any man affirm that these prosperities and great successes,

CHAP. III.

whether of Tobiah and Sanballat, or of Pompey, were a decision of God's, a verdict of Heaven brought in against the temple and services?

[This shewn in the conflict between Christianity and Mahometanism,]

6. If there were need of more instances to evince this, the whole history of the Turkish successes and victories over the Christians would not miss to do it, that great volume would crowd together, and condensate into one undeniable argument; the sum whereof is this, that Christianity hath been foiled, and Mahomedism set up in many hundred cities and regions; wheresoever that false epileptic prophet's banners were displayed, the ensigns of truth and God Himself, οἴχονται, were presently 'banished' or put to flight. And yet sure God hath not thus decided the controversy against Christian religion,—to which His promise was long ago sealed, that [Matt. xvi. 18.] "the gates of hell should never prevail against it." If He have, He hath also yielded the great sultan the honour of His own throne; for to that he hath as just a title, that of long, peaceable possession and prescription, having put it successfully, and as prosperously maintained it among his titles, to be King of kings and Lord of lords. God's verdict was herein intelligible enough against the factions, and divisions, and intestine broils of the Christians among themselves, too busily and ambitiously engaged in wars against one another, to attend the designs and obviate the motions of that common enemy. And many other sins there were that fitted them for those deprivations.

[and in Satan's success against the Church and true faith.]

7. If this be not sufficient, I shall then ascend but one step further in this argument *ab exemplo*, and demand whether Satan, that great adversary, hath not sometimes been prosperous in his attempts against the Church and true faith; and whether that be not the meaning of this being [Rev. xx. 3.] "loosed a little season," after the determining of the thousand years, and his deceiving the nations before the commencing of them, and whether in both those periods of time wherein he had desired his success in the πλάνη ἐθνῶν, 'deceiving the nations,' God have decided the question for him, and given judgment against the truth? If so, then was Simon of Samaria no longer a magician but a god, and all the powers of heaven itself submitted to him, when he prevailed with the emperor to have a statue so inscribed to him,

Simoni summo deo, "to Simon the highest god." And the strumpet Helena transformed from the stray sheep into the queen of heaven, when once she obtained to be adored as his *prima ἔννοια.* And then did Arianism[1] commence orthodox,—and apostolical truth become the only heresy,—when by the favour of the Emperor Constantius it triumphed through all the east over the Catholic doctrine; it being known in story how upon that emperor's great prosperities and successes, particularly upon the overthrow of Magnentius, and joining the western empire to the eastern, which formerly he possessed, he frequently boasted, *probatam divino calculo suam fidem,* that God Himself by those victories decided the controversy on the Arians' side against the fathers of Nice, and determined their belief to be the true[m];

[1] See Maximian's speech in Baronius, Ann. Eccl., an. 301. 8. [tom. ii. p. 695,] confuted by thunder and lightning.

[m] [At tanta parta victoria, accedit plane Constantio secundum illam antiquorum sententiam tam gentilium quam Christianorum consensu receptam, qua dicitur, Nihil infelicius felicitate peccantium. Quippe qui Arianæ impietati (proh nefas!) tantam victoriam qua sibi universum occidentale imperium vindicavit, acceptam retulit impie: quam in ultionem sævissimi tyranni Deus illi concesserat: unde et juxta propheticum illud evenit ipsi, quo dicitur: *Super hoc lætabitur et exultabit; propterea immolabit sagenæ suæ, et sacrificabit reti suo,* siquidem qui visus est hactenus favisse Arianis, postea adeo excoluit ipsam hæresin, cujus causa Orientale videbatur imperium cui tyrannus inhiabat liberatum et occidentali se auctum; ut nihil apud eum antiquius fuerit quam de ipsa bene mereri et longe lateque in universum Romanum imperium propagare; quod dum vixit, pro viribus præstitit. Erat illud frequens in ore ejus (quod testatur Lucifer Calaritanus) atque gloriose jactabat, probatam divino calculo suam fidem cum sibi secundum Arium credenti tot tantaque Deus præstitisset et ea majoribus indies accessionibus cumularet; cujus blasphemiæ causa postea permotus est ipse Lucifer ut librum ad eum scriberet, *De regibus apostatis,* quorum exemplis omnem illam ipsius inanem de probatione veræ fidei ex felicitate præsentis vitæ jactantiam reprimit, atque falsum inde argumentum deductum penitus confutat; ostendens nimirum sæpe accidisse ut impii ac scelestissimi principes et Deo in omnibus adversarii, ab ipso nihilominus fuerint diutius tolerati, immo et rebus prosperis atque felicibus sæpius munerati.

Est porro hoc commentarii illius exordium: Usitatum quia habere dignaris verbum; quod enim nisi et integre crederes et hæc quæ geris contra nos, Deo essent placita, jam fuisses extinctus: paucorum tibi in apostasia et crudelitate æqualium regum facta desideravi reserare quo possit vox illa tua sepeliri, quæ dicit:] Nisi Catholica esset fides Arii, hoc est, mea, nisi placitum esset Deo, quod illam persequar fidem, quam contra nos scripserunt apud Nicæam, nunquam profecto adhuc in imperio florerem, [&c., illud sæpius repetens: Nolo dicas; Si hæreticus essem nunquam tantum imperarem, nunquam me permitteret adhuc Deus in regno esse: quando videas viginti quatuor annis regnasse Basam filium Achiæ de quo scriptum invenisti, in regnorum libro tertio, *Et fecit malignum coram Domino, et abiit in viam Jeroboam.* Eadem subdit de filio Asa, qui triginta quinque annis idololatra regnavit et aliis. Sed quod hæc ipsi frequenter modo et in futurum cum ejecit episcopos ab ecclesia, crebro versarentur in lingua, idem Lucifer subdit: Ne tibi adscribas ad gloriam, et dicas: Idcirco non aliquo vulneror plaga, idcirco jam non exstinctus sum, sed adhuc vivo, regnum Romani imperii possidens quia sim bene credens, quia Arii, recta fides sit, quia fecerim bene removere

CHAP. III.

which presumption Lucifer Calaritanus[n] confuted in a treatise for that purpose, and entitled *De Regibus Apostaticis*. And then, in brief, prosperity is not, as the Romanist but modestly pretends, one of his many marks of the true Church[o], but like Aaron's rod in the midst of those of the magicians, devours and supplies the place of them all; neither antiquity nor purity shall any longer signify any thing; nor Christ Himself, if He have ever been so improsperous as to be crucified, the Jews, and Judas, and Pilate must have been in the right for three days, till He conquered, and so confuted them again at His resurrection.

8. These few, I suppose, may serve for some competent topics of reasoning to repel all the force of this objection, though if there could be need of it, the whole Christian religion itself, which bears the cross for its standard, and hath no assurance of conquest but by constancy in suffering, and gives us no promise of this life but *cum mixtura crucis*, with the 'exception' or 'mixture of the cross,' would abun-

episcopos et alios tales instituerim, quales concupierit Arius. Noli inquam hinc tibi gloriari, quod cum hæc sis faciens, tamen superbias quando videas istum nempe filium Basa, regem triginta quinque annis, tenuisse regnum, et in pace fuisse exemptum.

Sic igitur Constantius in Catholicos dirissimam exercens persecutionem, instar ethnici imperatoris, eadem ad sui excusationem, et quasi benefacti defensionem adversus omnes repetere consuevit, quod idem auctor indicat, cum ait; Manu militari pugnasti contra ecclesiam Alexandrinam, quamplurimos episcoporum relegasti in exiliis, in metallis, conjecisti in carcerem, certum etiam numerum interfecisti ex omnibus Dei cultoribus. Cum hæc egeris, tamen dicis: Nisi bene essem faciens, et integre essem credens nunquam me adhuc Deus regnare permitteret, tanquam idcirco et circa Achab ac ceteros coidololatras tuos fuerit Deus patiens, quia fuerint recte tenentes viam: et rursum inferius: Ne dixeris nisi bene agerem, nunquam tanto tempore imperarem, nunquam adhuc vivere fuissem permissus, quando et Manassem cernas filium Ezechiæ regis, regem Judæ sexdecim annorum suscepisse regnum et quinquaginta septem annis regnasse cum tamen fuisset omnium scelestissimus. Unde hæc idem auctor in eum peregregie quidem: Vides Constanti, tametsi contingat tibi in summa felicitate in hac temporaria versari vita; tamen magis timere debes quod Dei reserveris judicio. Et licet etiam ii qui statim extinguuntur, quibus hic aliqua divinitus irrogantur pœnarum, post discessum semper torqueantur; tamen tu si in summa vivens felicitate fueris hinc raptus, adverte qualiter in te vindicta sit processura, qui in tanto inveniaris scelere: hæc et alia in impium regem libero ore Lucifer.—Baronii Ann. Eccl. an. 353. § x. xi. xii. tom. iii. pp. 672, 673.

[n] [He was so called from being bishop of Cagliari in Sardinia. The work from which Baronius quotes the passage in the preceding note was written at Eleutheropolis in the year 358, and is entitled *De regibus Apostaticis*. The whole works were published by the Coleti (fol. Ven. 1778), and may be seen in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, Gallandii, fol. Venet. 1770, vol. vi. pp. 199—209.]

[o] Divinæ Providentiæ consilia in bonis distribuendis et malis infligendis ad solius Papatus rationes adstringit Cæsar noster Soranus. Sarpius sapiens Italus in Ep. MS. ad Casaub. de Baronio, quam a Dallæo transcriptam Smithæus mihi communicavit.

dantly demonstrate such objections as this to be perfectly unchristian. CHAP. III.

CHAP. IV.

A SECOND OBJECTION ANSWERED. WHERE IS NOW THE PROTESTANT ENGLISH CHURCH?

1. THE next objection is prepared and aimed against us from another coast, and will be most for their advantage put into this short question, Where is now your Protestant English Church? when your church-doors and even parlours themselves are shut up against those of you which are the ancient remaining bishops and presbyters of the Church of England, officers regularly entered into, and continuing in that function? [Case of the English Church]

2. To this,—not to examine the truth of the suggestion, which I suppose to fail in many respects,—the answer will be the same as if the heathens should ask, as once they are supposed to have asked the Psalmist, in a state of the like captivity, "Where is now your God," viz., that as our God so our Church is now where it was before, ere this interdict came out against us. [Ps. cxv. 2.]

3. Or if it may tend to the satisfaction of any that I should a little enlarge on this theme also, I shall then, as before, first demand where the Church of the Israelites was when the people were carried into Assyria or Chaldea; were they not then removed as far from their own solemn place of worship, the temple at Jerusalem, and from all their numerous synagogues erected in Palestine, and that by the very same means, a visible force, by which we are discharged from the public and even more private exercise of our functions? and consequently was not the lot of that people the same with the worst which can be suggested or affirmed of ours, viz., to be sheep kept out of their pastures upon the interdicting of their shepherds? [compared with that of the Israelites,]

4. Secondly, whether in the most prosperous times of Arianism, when the Catholic bishops were driven out of [with that of the Church in

CHAP. III.

which presumption Lucifer Calaritanus[n] confuted in a treatise for that purpose, and entitled *De Regibus Apostaticis*. And then, in brief, prosperity is not, as the Romanist but modestly pretends, one of his many marks of the true Church[o], but like Aaron's rod in the midst of those of the magicians, devours and supplies the place of them all; neither antiquity nor purity shall any longer signify any thing; nor Christ Himself, if He have ever been so improsperous as to be crucified, the Jews, and Judas, and Pilate must have been in the right for three days, till He conquered, and so confuted them again at His resurrection.

8. These few, I suppose, may serve for some competent topics of reasoning to repel all the force of this objection, though if there could be need of it, the whole Christian religion itself, which bears the cross for its standard, and hath no assurance of conquest but by constancy in suffering, and gives us no promise of this life but *cum mixtura crucis*, with the 'exception' or 'mixture of the cross,' would abun-

episcopos et alios tales instituerim, quales concupierit Arius. Noli inquam hinc tibi gloriari, quod cum hæc sis faciens, tamen superbias quando videas istum nempe filium Basa, regem triginta quinque annis, tenuisse regnum, et in pace fuisse exemptum.

Sic igitur Constantius in Catholicos dirissimam exercens persecutionem, instar ethnici imperatoris, eadem ad sui excusationem, et quasi benefacti defensionem adversus omnes repetere consuevit, quod idem auctor indicat, cum ait; Manu militari pugnasti contra ecclesiam Alexandrinam, quamplurimos episcoporum relegasti in exiliis, in metallis, conjecisti in carcerem, certum etiam numerum interfecisti ex omnibus Dei cultoribus. Cum hæc egeris, tamen dicis: Nisi bene essem faciens, et integre essem credens nunquam me adhuc Deus regnare permitteret, tanquam idcirco et circa Achab ac ceteros coidololatras tuos fuerit Deus patiens, quia fuerint recte tenentes viam: et rursum inferius: Ne dixeris nisi bene agerem, nunquam tanto tempore imperarem, nunquam adhuc vivere fuissem permissus, quando et Manassem cernas filium Ezechiæ regis, regem Judæ sexdecim annorum suscepisse regnum et quinquaginta septem annis regnasse cum tamen fuisset omnium scelestissimus. Unde hæc idem auctor in eum peregregie quidem: Vides Constanti, tametsi contingat tibi in summa felicitate in hac temporaria versari vita; tamen magis timere debes quod Dei reserveris judicio. Et licet etiam ii qui statim extinguuntur, quibus hic aliqua divinitus irrogantur pœnarum, post discessum semper torqueantur; tamen tu si in summa vivens felicitate fueris hinc raptus, adverte qualiter in te vindicta sit processura, qui in tanto inveniaris scelere: hæc et alia in impium regem libero ore Lucifer.—Baronii Ann. Eccl. an. 353. § x. xi. xii. tom. iii. pp. 672, 673.

[n] [He was so called from being bishop of Cagliari in Sardinia. The work from which Baronius quotes the passage in the preceding note was written at Eleutheropolis in the year 358, and is entitled *De regibus Apostaticis*. The whole works were published by the Coleti (fol. Ven. 1778), and may be seen in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, Gallandii, fol. Venet. 1770, vol. vi. pp. 199—209.]

[o] Divinæ Providentiæ consilia in bonis distribuendis et malis infligendis ad solius Papatus rationes adstringit Cæsar noster Soranus. Sarpius sapiens Italus in Ep. MS. ad Casaub. de Baronio, quam a Dallæo transcriptam Smithæus mihi communicavit.

dantly demonstrate such objections as this to be perfectly unchristian. CHAP. III.

CHAP. IV.

A SECOND OBJECTION ANSWERED. WHERE IS NOW THE PROTESTANT ENGLISH CHURCH?

1. THE next objection is prepared and aimed against us from another coast, and will be most for their advantage put into this short question, Where is now your Protestant English Church? when your church-doors and even parlours themselves are shut up against those of you which are the ancient remaining bishops and presbyters of the Church of England, officers regularly entered into, and continuing in that function? [Case of the English Church]

2. To this,—not to examine the truth of the suggestion, which I suppose to fail in many respects,—the answer will be the same as if the heathens should ask, as once they are supposed to have asked the Psalmist, in a state of the like captivity, "Where is now your God," viz., that as our God so our Church is now where it was before, ere this interdict came out against us. [Ps. cxv. 2.]

3. Or if it may tend to the satisfaction of any that I should a little enlarge on this theme also, I shall then, as before, first demand where the Church of the Israelites was when the people were carried into Assyria or Chaldea; were they not then removed as far from their own solemn place of worship, the temple at Jerusalem, and from all their numerous synagogues erected in Palestine, and that by the very same means, a visible force, by which we are discharged from the public and even more private exercise of our functions? and consequently was not the lot of that people the same with the worst which can be suggested or affirmed of ours, viz., to be sheep kept out of their pastures upon the interdicting of their shepherds? [compared with that of the Israelites,]

4. Secondly, whether in the most prosperous times of Arianism, when the Catholic bishops were driven out of [with that of the Church in

CHAP. IV.

times of Arianism;] their churches, banished out of Constantius' dominions, and forced to fly to the west as to a hiding place, a refuge from those sad calamities, it be by the objectors imagined that there was no Catholic or orthodox Church in those regions wherein the Arian emperor thus persecuted the truth?

5. Thirdly, whether in the time of Anastasius the emperor, who was an Eutychian heretic, and a bitter enemy and persecutor of the orthodox through the whole eastern empire, the Goths and Vandals, Arian princes meanwhile domineering in Italy, Spain, and Africa, and pagan kings bearing rule in France, England, and Germany; whether, I say, in this space there were not yet an orthodox Church remaining, though persecuted in all those places, or whether there were at that time any part of the Church which enjoyed the *εὐδία*, exempt from that black persecuted condition? Much might be added of the particular state of the African Church under the Vandals out of Victor Uticensis, but the argument is too copious.

[and in the time of the Ottoman emperors] 6. Fourthly, whether when the Ottoman race of Mahometan emperors subdued so great a part not only of Asia but Europe also, and therein so many eminent Christian Churches setting up Mahomedism for the public worship, yet permitting Christians to live, though but as under saws and arrows and axes of iron, instead of utterly depopulating their cities, it can with truth be suggested that these Christian Churches were all destroyed? I speak not of later times, wherein some liberty of assemblies is at a dear rate sold to them, but before they came to purchase or find so much mercy at their conquerors' hands, whilst all exercise of Christian religion was under close interdicts, all their churches filled with their false worshippers; yet even then hath not this sad captivity been deemed sufficient to unchurch all the Christians under those proud tyrants' dominions.

[with that of the Romanists in this country.] 7. Lastly, what will these disputers pretend as to the Romanists themselves, who have continued for some years in this kingdom without public assemblies, and acknowledge willingly, I suppose, that their state hath been all this while a state of persecution, that no priest of theirs is allowed to celebrate mass among them, that they can have no bishop

or ordinary residing here, and (as is supposable at least) do not all receive influence either immediately or mediately from their supreme bishop? Will not their union with the Catholic Church over the world, and their sincere desire to enjoy the liberty of assemblies, &c., preserve them within the bosom of the Church, though they do not enjoy these felicities?

8. It is vain to pay any larger or more solemn attendance to this objection, to which I have elsewhere spoken more punctually[q], and do now only suppose that all that hath since been added to our pressures hath infused no fresh virtue into the arguments.

9. The truth is, these and the like ways of their demurest arguings or suggestions at this time are but acts of diligent observers of opportunity, which think to gain more by the seasonable application, by addressing their fumes or medicaments, *tempore congruo*, when the pores are open or the body in any special manner receptive, than by the intrinsic virtue or energy of them.

[This objection of Romanists not new.]

10. The argument I suppose the very same which three score years since was frequently pressed against us of this nation, that ever since our departure from the Romish yoke we have ceased to be a Church; only now the darkness of our present condition makes them hope that their sophistry shall not be so easily seen through as formerly it hath been, and that either we shall be found less diligent or less dexterous to defend a persecuted profession, or else more inclinable to part with it.

11. It is meet, therefore, we should be instructed by them and learn wariness from their wiles, and as antidotes and prophylactic methods which are at all times of like power and virtue, are yet most necessary to be produced in time of a general distemper, so I suppose a more particular discourse on this matter, though it will not now have more real force, or consequently hope for better success upon those that are impersuasible than formerly it had, may yet be more seasonable to the wants of some weak seducible members of our persecuted communion, in tenderness to whom it may not be amiss more distinctly to consider the argument itself,

[q] Tr. of Schism, ch. xi. [pp. 287 sqq.]

CHAP. V.

well as to any other sort of either true or erroneous Christians, the consideration of the verity or falsity of the doctrines being no ingredient in this usage any more than in the origination of that word.

5. But the Scripture more frequently useth the word in an ill sense, with connotation of some fault either really inherent, or by them that use the word thought chargeable on that way which they express by it.

6. Thus Acts xxiv. 5, in Tertullus' speech, the *αἵρεσις*, 'heresy' of the Nazarenes, is looked on as an erroneous, dangerous, punishable way; and so ver. 14, in Paul's resuming of the accusation, where he acknowledges himself guilty of that which they thus called heresy, i. e. deemed to be such.

7. Thus in the Epistles it constantly signifies infusions of ill; sometimes divisions and breaches of charity and Christian communion, as 1 Cor. xi. 19, where *αἱρέσεις*, 'heresies,' are but the interpretation of *σχίσματα*, 'schisms' or fractures, ver. 18; and so Gal. v. 20, where in the midst of uncharitable breaches, "hatred, variance, emulations, wraths, strifes, seditions," before, and "envyings, murder," after, *αἱρέσεις*, 'heresies,' are enclosed, and so must receive their tincture from the society wherein they are found, and so denote schismatical divisions peculiarly, in a very ill sense indeed, as unquestionable works of the flesh, ver. 19, yet not precisely those that now we are to treat of, but as heresy and schism are sometimes promiscuously used the one for the other.

8. As for the strict, separate notion of the word, wherein it hath from the Apostles' times come to ours, and is generally understood among men, that still remains to be fetched from one singular use of it, 2 Pet. ii. 1, whereof the false teachers among the Christians bearing, saith he, a proportion with the false prophets among the Jews,—those two words, *διδάσκαλοι* and *προφῆται*, 'teachers' and 'prophets,' without any connotation of predicting future events, signifying in sacred dialect one and the same thing, and so likewise false teachers and false prophets,—he foretells them, *παρεισάξουσιν αἱρέσεις ἀπωλείας*, 'that they shall bring in' either by the bye, or, as *παρὰ* oft signifies, in contrariety to sound doctrine, 'heresies of destruction,' or destructive ruinous here-

sies, destructive of that foundation laid by the Apostles, for such the doctrines appear to be of which he there speaks, being the denial of the great article of our belief concerning our Redeemer, and such the Gnostic heresy is confessed to be, which is evidently there spoken of by St. Peter. SECT. I.

9. That all heresies should be equally destructive with this we have no indications from that text, nay, several enhancing circumstances are there discernible,—if now that were any part of the enquiry,—which may justly make a difference gradual both in respect of turpitude and danger betwixt that there specified and sundry other heresies. Thus much only must be thence concluded, that all the heresies that can be deemed proportionable or parallel to that character, which in that singular place the Scripture gives us of *αἱρέσεις*, are doctrinal breaches or separations from the faith as that signifies the true Christian doctrine, by Christ or His inspired and empowered servants, the Apostles, once or at once delivered to the saints. *Αἵρεσίς ἐστιν ἡ περὶ πίστεως οὐκ ἀληθὴς δόξα*, "Heresy is an untrue or false opinion or doctrine concerning the faith," was duly and fully resolved by Phavorinus, meaning by *περὶ πίστεως* any part of the faith truly so called, the difference betwixt heresy on one side and infidelity or apostacy on the other side, being visibly this, that the two latter are the denying or renouncing the whole faith of Christ, but the former of any single part of it. [Difference of heresies in point of turpitude and danger.]

SECT. 2.

OF MATTER OF FAITH.

1. Herein then the definition of heresy, in our present notion, being completed, viz., in its opposition to the faith of Christ in any one or more branches of it, and the disposition of the person guilty thereof, being but extrinsical to the nature of the thing itself,—as whether it be caused barely by ignorance, or whether it have in it some mixture of obstinacy, pride, or any other kind of carnality, whether it be only in the heart, contrary to believing with that, or else proceed further to profession with the tongue, as faith also doth,— these, I say, and the like being prescinded, and taken off [To what sort of errors heresy extends.] Rom. x. 10.

CHAP. V.

from our present enquiry, as they must be from the examination of the *formalis ratio* of every other sin,—which being once found out what formally it is, is allowed to be capable of many aggravating or extenuating circumstances and degrees, without varying of the species,—all that can now remain to be established in this first part of the enquiry is, to discern how far the faith of Christ may duly be extended, to what sorts of things it can properly belong, that so by the law of contraries we may safely conclude to what sorts of errors it is that the word heresy is to be extended.

[Distinction between matters of faith and customs.]

2. And 1, we must distinguish between matters of faith and rites or practices or customs of all, or any of the Apostles; for these latter being prudentially designed to some persons at some times, for some particular, occasional, and those mutable ends, as they are not founded in any universal precept, or doctrine of Christ, so neither are they obliging to all future times, but only so far as they that so ordered did design them.

3. Thus we know the canon of the Apostles, and the Church assembled at Jerusalem, concerning things strangled and things offered to idols, are promulgate to the gentiles at that time of Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia, from whom the occasion of that council and canon was taken; but when they pass further, they promulgate them not, as appears by 1 Cor. viii. 9, where, in that of *Idolothyta*, he acknowledges the Corinthians' liberty not retrenched, save only in case of scandal.

Acts xv. [20.]

4. And Baronius[t] extends this observation to the Thessalonians also, though the evidence be not so convincing, upon force of that text, where repeating what "commandments he had given them by the Lord Jesus," he specifies only *ut abstineatis a fornicatione*, "that ye abstain from fornication," without any mention of the other parts of the canon.

1 Thess. iv. 2, 3.

5. But without relying on such arguments as this last of his, (negative, and so unconcludent,) such ordinances as these, accommodated to particular times, and places, and persons, are in the nature of them temporary and variable, nay, not always the same at the same time. The Church stories give us little reason to doubt but the controversy concerning the time of keeping Easter, which at last brake out into such a

[t] [Ann. Eccl.] An. 51. n. 58. [tom. i. p. 394.]

tempest in the Church, had its original in the different traditions of the Apostles St. John and St. Philip produced by Polycrates for the Asiatic, as St. Peter and others by Victor for the other side.

6. And from thence as Polycarp and Anicetus, though each resolutely adhering to their several ways, did yet communicate one with another,—as Irenæus[u] tells Victor in his Epistle to him concerning this matter,—so it is evident that such ritual differences disturb not the faith, nor infer heresy on either side; the words of Pope Gregory the First[x] are express for it, *In una fide nihil officit sanctæ Ecclesiæ consuetudo diversa,* "Difference of customs is reconcilable with the unity of faith, and no detriment comes to holy Church by this difference." This might be much more largely evinced if there were need of it.

7. First then, confining ourselves to the faith only, it is granted on all hands that by faith here is meant the object or matter of a Christian's belief, not the belief itself; so it is visibly used in that eminent place of Jude 3, *πίστις παραδοθεῖσα,* "the faith delivered to the saints," i. e. the particular doctrines which all together made up the saints' belief.

8. Secondly, that this object of belief is nothing but the revealed doctrine of God, actually proposed by Him, and preached to men, on purpose that they that have so much reverence to God, and confidence of His veracity, that they question not the truth of any of His affirmations, may by faith receive, and believe, and act according to them.

9. For this belief being a duty of the first commandment, and so as all other parts of divine worship terminated ultimately in God,—or else it is not divine, but at the most but human faith,—as it truly comprehends all that is, or shall ever be thus conveyed to us by divine revelation; so can it not be any further extended, so as to comprise those things, even of God, which are unrevealed.

10. Many verities no doubt there are in God's secret cabinet, which though most true in themselves, and most worthy of belief, in case they were revealed to us, yet are

[u] [Vide Euseb. Hist. Eccl., lib. v. cap. 24. et Niceph. Hist. Eccl., lib. iv. cap. 39.]

[x] Epist. Exeg., lib. i. Indict. ix. Epist. 43. [ad Leandrum, tom. ii. p. 532.]

CHAP. V.

never like to come out from under that veil, and so can never be objects of our belief.

11. Thirdly, that even of those things that have at any time been revealed, all are not incumbent on us, so as to lay obligation on every man to comprehend or believe them; many passages of holy writ, though, when they are proposed to us convincingly as such, they may not be disbelieved, may yet safely be unobserved, or not understood, or escape out of our memory. Ἡ πίστις παραδοθεῖσα, "The faith," by way of emphasis and excellence, "that was once delivered to the saints," and ought by all such to be contended for, is that which was set out by Christ, or His Apostles from Him, to
Rom. x. 10. be by all men believed to their righteousness, and confessed to their salvation.

SECT. 3.

THE TWO WAYS OF CONVEYING THE FAITH TO US.

1. This then being the adequate object of the Christian's faith, those verities which have been revealed to us by God to be thus believed to righteousness, called therefore ὑγιαίνοντες λόγοι, words not only true but wholesome; the belief
1 Tim. vi. 3. whereof is required in order to our souls' health: the next enquiry is, how we that live in the same distance from Christ and His Apostles in respect of time, that we are situate from heaven, which now contains Christ, in respect of place, may come within any reach of these revelations of Christ, or to any competent undoubted assurance that those are such indeed which are pretended to be so.

[Writing and oral tradition the two ways of conveying revelation.]

2. And to this also my concession shall be as liberal as any Romanist can wish, that there are two[y] ways of conveying such revelations to us; one in writing, the other by oral tradition; the former in the Gospels and other writings of the Apostles, &c., which makes up the sacred writ or canon of the New Testament; the latter in the Apostles' preachings to all the Churches of their plantations, which are nowhere

[y] τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ πεφυλαγμένων δογμάτων καὶ κηρυγμάτων, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἐγγράφου διδασκαλίας ἔχομεν, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῆς τῶν Ἀποστόλων παραδόσεως διαδοθέντα ἡμῖν ἐν μυστηρίῳ [παρεδεξάμεθα, ἅπερ] ἀμφότερα τὴν αὐτὴν ἰσχὺν ἔχει πρὸς τὴν εὐσέβειαν καὶ τούτοις οὐδεὶς ἀντερεῖ, [οὐκοῦν] ὅστις γε κατὰ μικρὸν γοῦν θεσμῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πεπείραται.—S. Basil. de Spir. Sanc., cap. 27. [tom. iii. p. 54.]

set down for us in the sacred writ, but conserved as *deposita* by them to whom they were entrusted. SECT. III.

3. And although in sundry respects the former of these be much the more faithful[z] steady way of conveyance, and for want thereof many things may possibly have perished, or been changed by their passage through many hands, thus much being on these grounds confessed by Bellarmine himself[a], that "The Scripture is the most certain and safe rule of belief;" yet there being no less veracity in the tongues than the hands, in the preachings than the writings of the Apostles; nay, *Prior sermo quam liber, prior sensus quam stylus*, saith Tertullian[b], the "Apostles preached before they wrote, planted Churches before they addressed epistles to them:" on these grounds I make no scruple to grant that apostolical traditions, such as are truly so, as well as apostolical writings, are equally the matter of that Christian's belief, who is equally secured by the fidelity of the conveyance, that as one is apostolical writing, so the other is apostolical tradition.

1 Tim. vi. 20; 2 Tim. i. 14.

SECT. 4.

THE TESTIMONY FROM WHICH WE RECEIVE THE FAITH.

1. Next then the enquiry must proceed by examining what is this equal way of conveyance, common to both these, upon strength of which we become obliged to receive such or such a tradition for apostolical. [Testimony from which we receive the faith not divine,]

2. And this again is acknowledged not to be any divine testimony; for God hath nowhere affirmed in divine writ that the Epistle inscribed of Paul the Apostle to the Romans, consisting of so many periods as now it is in our Bibles, was ever written by that Apostle, nor are there any inward characters or signatures, or beams of light in the writing itself, that can be admitted or pretended for testimonies of this, any more than the like may exact to be

[z] ὧτα πέφυκεν ἀπιστότερα εἶναι ὀφθαλμῶν. — Palladius, Lausiaca Hist., [ap. Bibl. Vet. Patr. ed. Par. 1654. tom. xiii.] p. 966, B.

[a] [Quare cum] sacra scriptura regula credendi certissima tutissimaque [sit, sanus profecto non erit qui ea neglecta, spiritus interni sæpe fallacis, et semper incerti, judicio se commiserit.] De verbo Dei, lib. i. cap. 2. [tom. i. p. 2.]

[b] De testimonio animæ, c. 5.

CHAP. V.

admitted as witnesses, that the creed called the Apostles' was indeed, in the full sense of it, delivered to the Churches.

[but human.]

3. It remains then that herein on both sides we rest content with human testimonies of undoubted authority, or such as there is not any rational motive to distrust, and of which alone the matter is capable. For as in case of question concerning the Epistle to the Romans, whether this be it which was addressed by St. Paul to that Church, the only regular way of satisfying the question is, 1. By devolution or appeal to the authority of those fathers and councils to whom it was *de facto* sufficiently testified and approved, viz., by examination of the records of that Church to whom it was written, and by whom received, through the hands of some trusty messenger of that Apostle, such as Phebe that ministered unto him, and by other creditable ways of confirmation; and secondly, and by that consequence, to those very original records and proofs of undoubted fidelity: so the way of trial of any tradition, pretended to be apostolical, whether it be such or no, is by devolving it to those same or the like fathers and councils, which having occasion and commodity to examine the truth of the matter by the records or testimonies of those Churches to which it was delivered, found it sufficiently testified by them, that it was in truth according as is pretended.

4. And from hence it follows that as we of this age have no other way of judging of the canon of Scripture, or of any book, or chapter, or period contained in it, but by the affirmation and authority of those testifiers in the first ages of the Church, either by their writings or by the unquestioned relations of others, brought down and made known to us; so are we as unable to judge of apostolical traditions unwritten, whether this or that doctrine be such or no, unless it be thus by the undoubted affirmations of the ancients,—who are presumable by their antiquity to know the truth, and by their uniform consent neither to mistake themselves nor to deceive us,—communicated and conveyed to us.

5. It is not possible for any man or men of the greatest understandings or integrity, to see or know what is not done within the reach of their faculties, unless either they be inspired by God, or otherwise informed either mediately or

immediately from those who had really knowledge of it. Stories of former times are not wont to be written by the strength of men's natural parts, invention or judgment, but only by consulting of those records, either dead or living, by whose help such matters of fact have been preserved. Every thing else is but conjecture, and that very uncertain, the utmost probability in such matters being little worth, that being ofttimes done which really was,—and much more to us, who know not the motives of actions far removed from us, is,—of all things least probable to have been done. Only a creditable witness, such as no prudent man hath reason to distrust either as nescient or false, is worth considering, or able to found belief in this matter.

SECT. 5.

THE QUALIFICATIONS OF SUCH TESTIMONIES.

[Credibility of testimony dependent on universality, antiquity, consent.]

1. Now then comes the upshot of the enquiry, what qualifications there are of a testimony or testifier, without which it or he may not be thus deemed creditable or *ἀξιόπιστος*, 'worthy to be believed' by a sober Christian: and where these qualifications are to be found: which when we have once resolved, it will also be possible for us to pass some judgment of traditions duly styled apostolical, which as such must be allowed to be the object of our faith.

2. And herein I shall hope also that the resolution will be unquestionable, if it be bounded by those three terms to which Vincentius Lirinensis[c] in his defence of the Catholic faith against heresies and innovations hath directed us, *universitas, antiquitas, consensio,* "universality, antiquity, consent," viz., that the testimony we depend on be the result of

[c] [In ipsa item Catholica Ecclesia magnopere curandum est, ut id teneamus, quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est. (Hoc est etenim vere proprieque Catholicum, quod ipsa vis nominis ratioque declarat, quæ omnia fere universaliter comprehendit) sed hoc ita demum fiet: si sequamur universitatem, antiquitatem, consensionem. Sequemur autem universitatem hoc modo, si hanc unam fidem veram esse fateamur, quam tota per orbem terrarum confitetur Ecclesia: antiquitatem vero ita, si ab his sensibus nullatenus recedamus, quos sanctos majores ac patres nostros celebrasse manifestum est: consensionem quoque itidem; si in ipsa vetustate, omnium vel certe pene omnium sacerdotum pariter et magistrorum definitiones sententiasque sectemur.—Vincent., cap. ii. p. 6.]

CHAP. V.

all, the ancients consenting, or without any considerable dissent. Or in yet fewer words, a Catholic testimony, truly such, i. e. universal in all respects: 1. of place; 2. of time; 3. of persons.

[Universality of place.]

3. For first, if it be not testified from all places, it is not qualified for our belief as Catholic in respect of place, because the faith being one and the same, and by all and every of the Apostles preached, and deposited in all their plantations, what was ever really thus taught by any of them in any Church, will also be found to have been taught and received in all other apostolical Churches.

4. To which purpose the words of Irenæus are express[d]: "The Church disseminated over all the world, having received this preaching and this faith, preserves it diligently, as the inhabitants of the same house believe them alike, as having the same soul and heart, and teach and preach and deliver them alike, as having the same mouth, for though their languages are unlike, the virtue of tradition is one and the same, and neither do the Churches which are founded in Germany believe or deliver otherwise than those which were constituted in Spain, in France, in the Orient, in Egypt, in Africa, in the middle of the world, but as one and the same sun shines through the whole world, so doth the light and preaching of the truth in every place, where it is received, disperse itself."

[d] [*τοῦτο τὸ κήρυγμα παρειληφυῖα καὶ ταύτην τὴν πίστιν ὡς προέφαμεν, ἡ ἐκκλησία, καίπερ ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ διεσπαρμένη, ἐπιμελῶς φυλάσσει, ὡς ἕνα οἶκον οἰκοῦσα· καὶ ὁμοίως πιστεύει τούτοις, ὡς μίαν ψυχὴν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχουσα καρδίαν, καὶ συμφώνως ταῦτα κηρύσσει καὶ διδάσκει, καὶ παραδίδωσιν ὡς ἓν στόμα κεκτημένη· καὶ γὰρ αἱ κατὰ τὸν κόσμον διάλεκτοι ἀνόμοιαι, ἀλλ' ἡ δύναμις τῆς παραδόσεως μία καὶ αὐτή. καὶ οὔτε αἱ ἐν Γερμανίαις ἱδρυμέναι ἐκκλησίαι ἄλλως πεπιστεύκασιν ἢ ἄλλως παραδιδόασιν, οὔτε ἐν ταῖς Ἰβηρίαις οὔτε ἐν Κελτοῖς, οὔτε κατὰ τὰς ἀνατολὰς, οὔτε ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, οὔτε ἐν Λιβύῃ οὔτε αἱ κατὰ μέσα τοῦ κόσμου ἱδρυμέναι· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ὁ ἥλιος, τὸ κτίσμα τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ εἷς καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς, οὕτω καὶ τὸ κήρυγμα τῆς ἀληθείας πανταχῇ φαίνει καὶ φωτίζει πάντας ἀνθρώπους τοὺς βουλομένους εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας ἐλθεῖν· καὶ οὔτε ὁ πάνυ δύνατος ἐν λόγῳ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις προεστώτων, ἕτερα τούτων ἐρεῖ· (οὐδεὶς γὰρ ὑπὲρ τὸν διδάσκαλον) οὔτε ὁ ἀσθενὴς ἐν τῷ λόγῳ ἐλαττώσει τὴν παράδοσιν· μιᾶς γὰρ καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς πίστεως οὔσης, οὔτε ὁ πολὺ περὶ αὐτῆς δυνάμενος εἰπεῖν, ἐπλεόνασεν, οὔτε ὁ τὸ ὀλίγον, ἠλαττόνησε.*—S. Iren., lib. i. c. 10.]

Hanc prædicationem cum acceperit et hanc fidem Ecclesia, et quidem in universum mundum disseminata, diligenter custodit quasi unam domum inhabitans, et similiter credit his quasi unam animam habens, et unum cor, et consonanter hæc prædicat et docet et tradit, quasi unum possidens os. Nam etsi in mundo loquelæ dissimiles sunt, sed tamen virtus traditionis una est et eadem——

SECT. V.

5. So also Tertullian[e]: "Presently, therefore, the Apostles having first in Judea testified the faith and instituted Churches, and then taken their journey over all the world, made known to the nations the same doctrine of the same faith, and so planted Churches in every city, from which the rest of the Churches afterward borrowed their seeds of faith and doctrine, and so daily continue to do, and are formed into Churches."

6. From which premises his conclusion is just that which I here deduce; "If so[f], then it is evident that every doctrine must be deemed true which conspires with the apostolical Churches, which are the wombs and originals whence the faith came out, as maintaining that without any question, which the Churches received from the Apostles, the Apostles from Christ, and Christ from God: and that all other doctrine is under the prejudice of being false, which is contrary to the truth of the Churches of the Apostles, of Christ, and of God."

7. It is true, indeed, that whatsoever one Church professeth to have received from the Apostle that planted it, is of itself sufficient, without the confirmation of all others, to beget and establish belief in him to whom it thus testifies: whereupon Tertullian[g] refers the enquirer to that Apostolic Church that is next him, be it "Corinth, if he live in Achaia;

[e] Statim igitur Apostoli [quos hæc appellatio missos interpretatur, assumpto per sortem duodecimo Matthia in locum Judæ ex auctoritate prophetiæ quæ est in Psalmo David, consecuti promissam vim spiritus sancti ad virtutes et eloquium,] primo per Judæam contestata fide in Jesum Christum, ecclesiis institutis dehinc in orbem profecti, eandem doctrinam ejusdem fidei nationibus promulgaverunt. Et proinde ecclesias apud unamquamque civitatem condiderunt, a quibus traducem fidei et semina doctrinæ cæteræ exinde ecclesiæ mutuatæ sunt et quotidie mutuantur ut ecclesiæ fiant. —[Tertull. de Præscript. Hæret., cap. 20.]

[f] Si hæc ita sunt, constat proinde omnem doctrinam quæ cum illis ecclesiis Apostolicis, matricibus et originalibus fidei conspiret veritati deputandam: sine dubio tenentem quod ecclesiæ ab Apostolis, Apostoli a Christo, Christus a Deo accepit: reliquam vero omnem doctrinam de mendacio præjudicandam: quæ sapiat contra veritatem ecclesiarum, et Apostolorum, et Christi, et Dei. [Superest ergo uti demonstremus, an nostra doctrina cujus regulam supra edidimus, de Apostolorum traditione censeatur, et ex hoc ipso an cæteræ de mendacio veniant. Communicamus cum ecclesiis Apostolicis quod nulla doctrina adversa; hoc est testimonium veritatis. — Tertull., de Præscr. Hæret., cap. 21.]

[g] Age jam qui voles curiositatem melius exercere in negotio salutis tuæ, percurre ecclesias Apostolicas; proxima est tibi Achaia? habes Corinthum; Si non longe es a Macedonia, habes Philippos, habes Thessalonicenses; si potes in Asiam tendere, habes Ephesum; si tamen Italiæ adjaces, habes Romanam.—Ibid., cap. 36.

CHAP. V.

Philippi or Thessalonica, if in Macedonia; Ephesus if in Asia; or if he be near Italy, Rome." But this is no further to be extended, than while we suppose without enquiry, that other apostolical Churches have received, and are ready to testify the same; which presumption or supposal must then cease, when upon enquiry we find the contrary; there being then none of this first kind of universality, viz., of place, and so far no validity in the testification.

[Of time.] 8. Secondly, for the universality of time, that must be cautiously understood: not so as to signify it a prejudice to any doctrine, if in some one or more ages it have not been universally received; for then there could be no heretics at any time in the world: but so as to extend to the first and purest, and not only to the latter ages of the Church.

9. That which was delivered by the Apostles was certainly received in that first age, wherein they lived; and by careful enquiry will be found from their monuments to have been then among them. And that which by this trial is discerned to be of later date, not to be descried in the first times, nor testified by sufficient authority to be derived from thence, falls short again of this second part of universality in respect of time.

[Of consent.] 10. Thirdly, for the consent of testifiers, that is also necessary to the rendering it a Catholic and authentic testimony; any considerable number of dissenters being of necessity to weaken our belief, and infuse reasons of doubting, and a preponderancy of dissenters the other way, to weigh down, at least to incline, the belief to the contrary.

SECT. 6.

WHERE THESE QUALIFICATIONS MAY BE FOUND. OF THE CONSENT OF ANCIENT DOCTORS, AND DEFINITIONS OF COUNCILS TRULY GENERAL.

[These qualifications not to be found in any one Church,] 1. This therefore being thus established, and the conjunction of all the three sorts of universality being in all reason required to the authentic testifying of tradition, it is soon defined where these qualifications are to be looked for, and where they may be found.

2. Questionless not in any one bishop, or succession of bishops in any see for many later ages, not including the

Apostles; for whatever his pretensions may be to authority and supremacy over all other Churches, this can never convert a particular, whether man or Church, into the universal, nor make his testimony authentic according to those rational and Christian rules which we have learned from Lirinensis. SECT. VI.

3. There are many apostolic Churches beside that of Rome: great difference of Rome in these later ages from the primitive apostolic Rome, to which the *depositum* was entrusted. And there are many dissenters to be found who have always lived and flourished in the Catholic Church, which never acknowledged those doctrines to be delivered to them by the Apostles, which the Church of Rome hath of late assumed to be such. And for any privilege annexed to that bishop's chair, or to that society of men which live in external communion with him, that he or they can never define any thing to be, *de fide*, part of the faith, which is not so, as that is, beyond all other their pretensions, most denied by us, and least attempted to be proved by the Romanist, and not so much as consented on among themselves; so must it in no reason be supposed in this dispute, or taken for granted by them, but is rejected with the same ease that it is mentioned by them.

4. As for other pretenders I know not any, save only that of the Universal consent of the doctors of the first ages, or that of an universal council. And both these we are willing to admit with such cautions only as the matter exacts, and the grounds of defining already laid. [but in the consent of doctors of the first ages,]

5. The universal consent of the doctors of the first ages, bearing testimony that such or such a doctrine was from the Apostles' preachings delivered to all Churches by them planted, or their general conform testimony herein, without any considerable dissenters producible, is, I acknowledge, ἀξιόπιστος, 'authentic' or 'worthy of belief,' and so hath been made use of by the orthodox of all times[h], as sufficient for the rejecting of any new doctrine.

[h] [ἔδοξεν ἡμῖν ἔγγραφον τὴν] πίστιν ἣν ἐξ ἀρχῆς παρελάβομεν καὶ ἔχομεν παραδοθεῖσαν, καὶ τηρουμένην ἐν τῇ καθολικῇ καὶ ἁγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ μεχρὶ τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας ἐκ διαδοχῆς ὑπὸ τῶν μακαρίων Ἀποστόλων.—Exemplum epistolæ missæ Paulo Samosatensi ab orthodoxis episcopis Synodi Antiochenæ, ap. Bibl. Vet. Patr., tom. i. p. 302. [ed. Par. 1624.] οὕτως ὡμολόγησαν οἱ ἅγιοι πατέρες, καὶ παρέδωκαν ἡμῖν ὁμολογεῖν καὶ πιστεύειν. δέδεικται οὖν τὸ σόφισμα ἀδύνατον, κ.τ.λ.—Dionys. Alex. Epist. contra Paulum Samosat. Ibid., p. 275, E.

CHAP. V.

[or in the declaration of a free general council.]

6. So likewise is the declaration of a general council free, and gathered from all quarters, and in such other respects, truly so called, founded in the examination of the monuments of the several apostolical plantations, either produced in council, or authentically confirmed from the letters of the several churches, either formerly prepared in provincial and national councils, or otherwise sufficiently confirmed to them, and this declaration conciliarly promulgate, and after the promulgation universally received and accepted by the Church diffusive; or else it is evident all this while, that it is not a Catholic, truly so styled, testimony.

7. For that any council of bishops, the most numerous that ever was in the world, much less a but major part of those few that be there present, is not yet really the universality of Christians is too evident to be doubted of.

8. It can only, then, be pretended that it is the universal representative, or such an assembly, wherein is contained the virtue and influences of the whole universal Church. And thus, indeed, I suppose it to be, as often as the doctrines there established by universal consent, founded in Scripture and tradition, have either been before discussed and resolved in each provincial council, which have sent their delegates thither from all the parts of the world, or else have, *post factum*, 'after the promulgation,' been accepted by them, and acknowledged to agree with that faith which they had originally received.

[S. Augustine's judgment on a general council.]

9. That the former of these is a considerable ingredient in a general council appears to be St. Augustine's judgment[1]: "It is safe for us not to proceed rashly to those things which have not been begun in any Catholic provincial council, and determined in a plenary or universal. That we must, if we will be safe in our pronouncing, take care to affirm that which, in the regiment of our God and Christ Jesus our Saviour, is confirmed by the confession of the universal Church." Where as the confession of the universal Church—or their testimony that such a doctrine hath been delivered

[1] [Sed] nobis tutum est in ea non progredi aliqua temeritate sententiæ, quæ nullo in catholico regionali concilio cœpta, nullo plenario terminata sunt; id autem fiducia securæ vocis asserere quod in gubernatione Domini Dei nostri et salvatoris Jesu Christi universali ecclesiæ consensione roboratum est.—S. Aug., lib. vii. de Bapt. contra Don., cap. 53. [tom. ix. p. 202.]

SECT. VI.

to the Church by the Apostles, is that which gives validity to a doctrine, so this universal confession is then truly such when it is the determination of a general council prepared for in the provincial councils, of which that general is made up. And what hath not been according to this course established, or the truth whereof, as he elsewhere speaks[k], is not first *eliquata*, 'strained' out, or extracted by provincial councils, and so solidated or put together by a general council, may very safely be disbelieved; for, saith he, "How could that obscure controversy be brought to a clear declaration and confirmation of a general council, if it were not first thoroughly handled and cleared by the conferences and disputes of bishops through all the regions of the world?"

[The same view supported by Baronius.]

10. And this seems to be acknowledged by Baronius[l], who speaking of the provincial synods called in the west, before the meeting of any universal synod in the east, not only affirms it to be *usus pristinus*, "the ancient custom," but withal takes notice of this end or design of it, that those bishops of the west, which could not all reasonably take such a journey, "might yet by some means give their suffrages," supposing, as it was reason, that the council could not be truly universal, in which all the regions in the world did not

[k] [Nec nos ipsi tale aliquid auderemus asserere nisi universæ ecclesiæ concordissima auctoritate firmati, cui et ipse sine dubio cederet si jam illo tempore quæstionis hujus veritas eliquata et declarata per plenarium concilium solidaretur. Si enim Petrum laudat et prædicat ab uno posteriore collega patienter concorditerque correctum, quanto citius ipse cum concilio provinciæ suæ universi orbis auctoritati patefacta veritate cessisset; quia profecto et uni verum dicenti et demonstranti posset facillime consentire tam sancta anima, tam pacata: et fortasse factum est, sed nescimus. Neque enim omnia quæ illo tempore inter episcopos gesta sunt, memoriæ literisque mandari potuerunt aut omnia quæ mandata sunt novimus.] Quomodo [enim] potuit ista res [tantis altercationum nebulis involuta] ad plenarii concilii luculentam illustrationem confirmationemque perduci, nisi primo diutius per orbis terrarum regiones multis hinc atque hinc disputationibus et collationibus episcoporum pertractata constaret?—Ibid., lib. ii. cap. 4. [tom. ix. p. 98.]

[l] [Sed cur inquies per Abundium et Senatorem missa S. Leonis epistola de Christi incarnatione, si ante jam missam in Gallias, Eusebius eandem acceperat a Ceretio. Ex his pristinum usum intellige. Cum œcumenicum in oriente concilium indiceretur, cui cum haud omnes episcopi occidentales interesse possent; quo tamen et ipsi] aliquo modo suum ferrent suffragium, [soliti erant iidem, si pateretur opportunitas temporis, Romam ad synodum convocari, vel saltem iisdem absentibus præcipere Romanus pontifex ut provinciales episcopi conventus agerent ex iisque litteras darent ad ipsum pontificem qui legatos e latere dirigeret, non suo ipsius tantum nomine sed totius occidentalis ecclesiæ. Sic igitur cum sub Theodosio postremum concilium Ephesinum indictum esset, hoc opus fuit præstari ab episcopis occidentis; rursum vero cum hoc tempore aliud esset indictum concilium œcumenicum, eadem requiri ab iisdem.—Baronii Ann. Eccl.] an. 451. § xx. tom. vi. [p. 132.]

CHAP. V.

some way give their votes; and further, that this was the way by which the pope was enabled to send his legates *a latere*, not only in his own name but of the whole western Church, viz., by the metropolitans in the provincial synods sending letters to the pope, which contained their sense in that matter which was to be debated in the general council.

[Evidences of this]

11. Many evidences of this custom and reasons of the observing of it, in order to the rendering a council truly general, might be further added, but this is, I suppose, sufficient.

12. Only by the way I add, that by this expedient the want of general councils might in some degree be supplied, the concordant declarations of each provincial council compared and communicated, being, for the testifying of apostolical tradition, or the Catholic sense of the Church, equivalent to the voice of a general council.

[in the case of Novatus.]

13. So we find the practice in Eusebius[m], where upon the rising of Novatus, a Roman presbyter, first a provincial council at Rome, *ἰδίως τε κατὰ τὰς λοιπὰς ἐπαρχίας τῶν κατὰ χώραν*, "and severally in the several provinces in every region," the pastors or bishops conciliarly considering of the matter, *δόγμα παρίσταται τοῖς πᾶσι*, "the resolution was made by all of them against Novatus." Then follow the letters of Cornelius bishop of Rome to Fabius of Alexandria, giving him the relation both of the Roman synod and of the determinations of all the bishops through Italy and Africa,

[m] [*ἐπειδήπερ τῇ κατὰ τούτων ἀρθεὶς ὑπερηφανίᾳ Νοουάτος τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας πρεσβύτερος, ὡς μηκέτ' οὔσης αὐτοῖς σωτηρίας ἐλπίδος, μηδ' εἰ πάντα τὰ εἰς ἐπιστροφὴν γνησίαν καὶ καθαρὰν ἐξομολόγησιν ἐπιτελοῖεν, ἰδίας αἱρέσεως τῶν κατὰ λογισμοῦ φυσίωσιν Καθαροὺς ἑαυτοὺς ἀποφηνάντων, ἀρχηγὸς καθίσταται. Ἐφ' ᾧ συνόδου μεγίστης ἐπὶ Ῥώμης συγκροτηθείσης, ἑξήκοντα μὲν τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐπισκόπων πλειόνων δ' ἔτι μᾶλλον πρεσβυτέρων τε καὶ διακόνων, ἰδίως τε κατὰ τὰς λοιπὰς ἐπαρχίας τῶν κατὰ χώραν ποιμένων περὶ τοῦ πρακτέου διασκεψαμένων, δόγμα παρίσταται τοῖς πᾶσι, τὸν μὲν Νοουάτον ἅμα τοῖς αὐτῷ συνεπαρθεῖσι, τούς τε συνειδοκεῖν τῇ μισαδέλφῳ καὶ ἀπανθρωποτάτῃ γνώμῃ τἀνδρὸς προαιρουμένους, ἐν ἀλλοτρίοις τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἡγεῖσθαι, τοὺς δὲ τῇ συμφορᾷ περιπεπτωκότας τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ἴασθαι καὶ θεραπεύειν τοῖς τῆς μετανοίας φαρμάκοις. Ἦλθον δ' οὖν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐπιστολαὶ Κορνηλίου Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκόπου πρὸς τὸν τῆς Ἀντιοχέων ἐκκλησίας Φάβιον, δηλοῦσαι τὰ περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων συνόδου, καὶ τὰ δόξαντα τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ Ἀφρικὴν καὶ τὰς αὐτόθι χώρας· καὶ ἄλλαι πάλιν Ῥωμαϊκῇ φωνῇ συντεταγμέναι, Κυπριανοῦ καὶ τῶν ἅμ' αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν Ἀφρικὴν, δι' ὧν τὸ καὶ αὐτοὺς συνευδοκεῖν τῷ δεῖν τυγχάνειν ἐπικουρίας τοὺς πεπειρασμένους ἐνεφαίνετο· καὶ τῷ χρῆναι εὐλόγως τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκκήρυκτον ποιήσασθαι τὸν τῆς αἱρέσεως ἀρχηγὸν, πάντας τε ὁμοίως τοὺς συναπαγομένους αὐτῷ. Ταύταις ἄλλη τις ἐπιστολὴ συνῆπτο τοῦ Κορνηλίου, περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν σύνοδον ἀρεσάντων, καὶ πάλιν ἑτέρα, περὶ τῶν κατὰ Νοουάτον πραχθέντων.*—Euseb. Hist. Eccl.,] lib. vi. cap. 43.

and those regions; and others of Cyprian, and those with him in Africa, declaring τὸ καὶ αὐτοὺς συνευδοκεῖν, "the concordance of their judgment herein." But this by the way in passing. SECT. VI.

14. And for the latter of these there can be as little doubt, there being no possibility without it, that the voice of a council never so general should be the testimony of the whole Church.

15. When a doctrine is conciliarly agreed on, it is then promulgate to all, and the universal, though but tacit approbation and reception thereof, the no considerable contradiction given to it in the Church, is a competent evidence that this is the judgment and concordant tradition of the whole Church, though no such resolution of provincial synods have preceded.

[The authority of a council prejudiced by its sentence being protested against.]

16. But if that be also wanting, if the sentence of a major part of bishops in a council be not, when it comes to be declared to the world, admitted or received in the Church, as consonant to the doctrine of the Apostles, written or unwritten, if the grounds whereon it hath been by the council defined,—for so the suffrages are conciliarly to be delivered together with their grounds and reasons of them, out of Scripture or tradition,—be by others which sat not in that council found to be false or vain, and are as such contradicted and protested against; this evidently prejudiceth the authority of that council, and shews their incompetency for the work in hand of universal testification.

17. On which grounds it is that St. Hilary[n] in his tract of synods against the Arians, setting down all the creeds which after the Nicene council had been set out in several times and places, desires all the bishops of France and Britain, &c., to whom he writes, to give their judgment whether they be Catholic or heretical.

[n] [Obsequor igitur caritatis vestræ impatientissimæ voluntati: et omnes fides quæ post sanctam synodum Nicænam diversis temporibus et locis editæ sunt, cum sententiarum omnium atque etiam verborum additis per me expositionibus destinavi. In quibus si quid vitiose inesse intelligitur, nemo mihi vitium potest assignare dictorum; internuntius enim, ut voluistis, sum ipse, non conditor.] Si quid [vero] rectum atque ex doctrinis apostolicis [præscriptum] deprehenditur, [nemo ambigit non interpretantis in eo esse gloriam sed auctoris. Ego tamen quæ gesta sunt, fideliter transmisi; vos] an catholica, an hæretica sint, fidei vestræ judicio comprobate.—[S. Hil. de Synod. p. 1154, C.]

SECT. 7.

THE BENEFIT FROM GENERAL COUNCILS. REVERENCE DUE TO THEM. TO THE FIRST FOUR ESPECIALLY.

[Value of the decrees of councils.]

1. From these premises thus briefly deduced, it now appears, 1. What it is that we owe to the councils of the Church; I shall most safely express it in the words of Vincentius[o], "What hath the Church ever brought forth by the decrees of councils, save only that what was before simply believed, the same should after be believed more diligently; what was before less vigorously preached, that same should after be preached more instantly; what was before more securely observed, that same should after be more solicitously dressed or cultivated? This, I say, and nothing but this hath the Catholic Church, stirred up by heretics' new doctrines, done by the decrees of councils; what before it had received from the ancestors by tradition only, it hath after committed to writing, and as an obligation under its own hand consigned to posterity."

2. In a word, that which was before the constant belief of the whole Church received from the Apostles' times and preaching, and by conciliar discussions and search found to be so, is thus delivered down to us by those councils, and testified by them to be that which they found in the Church universally. This I suppose the meaning of the *ἀνακρινέτωσαν ἀλλήλους τὰ δόγματα τῆς εὐσεβείας*, in the thirty-seventh Apostolic Canon[p], "Let them in their councils discuss, and examine the doctrines of piety," enquire and discern what have been delivered to them as such, and then *τὰς ἐμπιπτούσας ἐκκλησιαστικὰς ἀντιλογίας διαλυέτωσαν,*

[o] Quid unquam aliud conciliorum decretis enisa est, nisi ut quod antea simpliciter credebatur hoc idem postea diligentius crederetur? quod antea lentius prædicabatur, hoc idem postea instantius prædicaretur, quod antea securius colebatur, hoc idem postea solicitius excoleretur. Hoc, inquam, semper, neque quicquam præterea hæreticorum novitatibus excitata conciliorum suorum decretis Catholica perfecit Ecclesia, [nisi] ut quod prius a majoribus sola traditione susceperat, hoc deinde posteris etiam per Scripturæ chirographum consignaret.—cap. 32.

[p] [*δεύτερον τοῦ ἔτους σύνοδος γινέσθω τῶν ἐπισκόπων καὶ ἀνακρινέτωσαν ἀλλήλους τὰ δόγματα τῆς εὐσεβείας, καὶ τὰς ἐμπιπτούσας ἐκκλησιαστικὰς ἀντιλογίας διαλυέτωσαν· ἅπαξ μὲν τῇ τετάρτῃ ἑβδομάδι τῆς πεντηκοστῆς· δεύτερον δὲ ὑπερβερεταίου δωδεκάτῃ.* — Canon Apost. xxx. p. 442.]

"let them answer or satisfy the incidental objections which shall happen to be made to them in the Church." And so no new doctrine ever received from their authority or power of defining, but the ancient apostolical Catholic pious doctrine testified to us.

[Reverence due to the four first councils,]

3. Secondly, it is hence manifest also what is the ground of that reverence that is by all sober Christians deemed due and paid to the four first general councils, which Vincentius looks on as the great conservatories of tradition, wherein he might fitly instance, and which Pope Gregory the Great[q] professeth to "believe as he doth the four Gospels," and Theodosius Cenobiarcha so much commended by Cyril[r] and others, anathematizeth all who are not of that opinion, viz., because 1. As Theodoret[s], out of Athanasius, declares of the Nicene, that they set down and convinced the truth of their doctrine ἐξ ἀγράφων μετ' εὐσεβείας νοουμένων λέξεων, "out of the Scripture words understood with piety,"

[q] [Præterea quia corde creditur ad justitiam, ore autem confessio fit ad salutem, sicut sancti evangelii quatuor libros sic quatuor concilia suscipere et venerari me fateor. Nicænum scilicet in quo perversum Arii dogma destruitur, Constantinopolitanum quoque in quo Eunomii et Macedonii error convincitur, Ephesinum etiam primum, in quo Nestorii impietas judicatur, Chalcedonense vero in quo Eutychis Dioscorique pravitas reprobatur; tota devotione complector, integerrima approbatione custodio: quia in his velut in quadrato lapide sanctæ fidei structura consurgit et cujuslibet vitæ atque actionis existat, quisquis eorum soliditatem non tenet etiam si lapis esse cernitur, tamen extra ædificium jacet. Quintum quoque concilium pariter veneror in quo et epistola quæ Ibæ dicitur, erroris plena reprobatur, Theodorus personam Mediatoris Dei et hominum in duabus subsistentiis separans ad impietatis perfidiam cecidisse convincitur. Scripta quoque Theodoriti per quæ beati Cyrilli fides reprehenditur ausu dementiæ prolata refutantur. Cunctas vero quas præfata veneranda concilia personas respuunt, respuo: quas venerantur amplector, quia dum universali sunt consensu constituta, se et non illa destruit, quisquis præsumit aut solvere quos religant aut ligare quos solverint. Quisquis ergo aliud sapit anathema sit. Quisquis vero prædictarum synodorum fidem tenet, pax ei sit a Deo Patre per Jesum Christum Filium ejus, qui cum eo vivit et regnat consubstantialiter Deus in unitate Spiritus Sancti per omnia secula seculorum. Amen. — S.] Greg., lib. i. ep. 25. [tom. ii. p. 515.]

[r] Cyril, in Saba. Suidas in verb. ἀναστάσιος· Quis sit Saba, vide præf. ad Moschi Prat. spir. &c., c. 3. c. 80. [The passage from which these authors are quoted is in Baronius, tom. vi. p. 608. sub an. 511. § 21. Magnus ille Theodosius Cænobiarcha qui his temporibus claruit in Palæstina cujus sæpe magna cum laude Cyrillus meminit, atque Suidas et alii, his ab Anastasio imperatore certaminibus est appetitus, &c. See also p. 611. n. 33. Contemptis enim illis scriptis et decretis, minisque innumerabilibus turbaque quæ imperatorem et Deum ex æquo reverebatur, militibusque qui eos observarent, qui essent tale quid dicturi: illis omnibus contemptis tanquam vanis strepitibus, et dicens non esse suum, sed puerorum talia horrere tonitrua, leonis suscipiens impetum, cum Dei templum esset ingressus et suggestum conscendisset in quo solent legere sacerdotes manu populo significans silentium: *Si quis* inquit *quatuor sanctas synodos non tanti esse existimat quanti quatuor evangelia sit anathema.*]

[s] [Eccl. Hist.] lib. i. cap. 8.

CHAP. V.

i.e. so as the pious orthodox fathers had always understood them, οὐχ ἑαυτοῖς εὑρόντες τὰς λέξεις, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν πατέρων ἔχοντες [τὴν] μαρτυρίαν, "not inventing words or phrases for themselves, but having testimony from the fathers" for what they wrote,—for, saith he, the bishops of Rome and Alexandria for almost one hundred and thirty years had found fault with them who affirmed the Son to be ποίημα, a 'creature,' καὶ μὴ ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρὶ, 'and not of the same substance with the Father;'—so it was true of all the other three; they fetched their definitions regularly from Scripture, and that sense thereof which the several Churches had received down from the Apostles; and so were approved and received universally in all Churches[t], not as those which had formed any new articles, but which conserved the *deposita*

[t] Thus Capreolus, bishop of Carthage, in his answer to Vitalis and Constantius, (who style him Bishop of the Catholic Church of Carthage, and Pope, and Sanctus Apostolatus vester, 'your holy apostolacy,' and consult him that they may learn from him quæ fides catholica recta teneat; as high titles and dignities as the bishop of Rome can pretend to,) speaking of the Nestorian heresy and the council of Ephesus, saith that it was therein radio apostolicæ lucis extincta, extinguished by a ray of apostolical light, and for the asserting of the truth, appeals to the doctrine and tradition of evangelical antiquity, doctrinam confitemur quam evangelica tenet ac tradit antiquitas, &c., pp. 42, 43.

[The commencement of the letter of Vitalis and Constantius is,

Epistola servorum Dei Vitalis et Constantii Spanorum ad S. Capreolum episcopum ecclesiæ Catholicæ Carthaginis, Domino et venerabili et beatissimo in Christo famulo Dei, Domino nostro Capreolo Vitalis et Constantius peccatores. Quæ prima vota sunt humilitatis nostræ, plurimum salutamus sanctam perfectamque et venerabilem beatitudinem tuam, et sanum atque incolumem semper Deo propitio audire desideramus: quia etsi in longinquo positi sumus a sancto apostolatu vestro, mari terminante, sed in præsentia vestri sumus semper in orationibus sanctitatis vestræ Domine pater.

And the conclusion is,

Ideoque provoluti genibus exoramus humiles servi tui sanctum apostolatum vestrum, ut informetis parvitatem nostram in his quod rectum habet fides catholica: et detis veniam insipientiæ vel imperitiæ nostræ si quid per ignorantiam incedimus. Potens est Dominus Christus sanctis orationibus vestris nobis veniam dare, ne deveniamus in profundum malorum. Ora pro nobis, domine sancte, venerabilis et beatissime papa.

The passage in the letter of Capreolus alluded to is,

Jam enim, quod etiam ad vestram notitiam pervenisse non dubito, intra orientis partes ubi primum pestis ista surrexit congregata gloriosa synodo sacerdotum, cui etiam legatio nostra non defuit, in vestibulo cum suo auctore atque adsertore compressa et radio apostolicæ lucis exstincta est. Nec mirari debet caritas vestra, si etiam post damnationem suam intermorientis spiritus fœtidus adhuc flatus adspiret. Est enim semper pertinax hæreticorum audacia et in sua male pernicie urgente peccatorum pondere perseveret. Quod si nondum forsitan cognovistis, facili lectione poteritis agnoscere.

Quamvis igitur Christianis et devotis mentibus ipsa universalis ecclesiæ auctoritas plene sufficiat, nec vestra quantum missus a vobis sermo perdocuit in hac causa minor videatur assertio: ne tamen ego quoque petitioni atque interrogationi sanctæ necessarium videar negare responsum, unam veramque doctrinam hanc esse confitemur, quam evangelica tenet ac tradit antiquitas.—Galland., tom. ix. pp. 492, 493. See also Baronius, Ann. Eccl. ad ann. 431. § 28.]

entrusted to the Churches, and in time of need brought them forth and discovered them, to the securing of the truth against heretics.

[as being near the Apostles' times,]

4. Thirdly, because these being so near the Apostles' times, and gathered as soon as the heterodox opinions appeared, the sense of the Apostles might more easily be fetched from those men and Churches to whom they had committed it, and it was not in the power of subtlety and craft to infuse their poison undiscernibly into those fountains.

5. This account is also given by Lirinensis, where speaking of the way of confuting "heretics by producing and comparing the concordant doctrines of the old fathers," he puts in this among other cautions[u]: "All heresies are not always thus to be impugned, but only those that are fresh risen, and have not yet had time to vitiate the volumes of the fathers, or falsify the rules of the ancient faith:" wisely foreseeing that in this case there is no course of dealing with, or convincing of heretics, unless it be either by the sole authority of Scriptures, or by the councils of Catholics, which were long ago universal.

[and for the special matter of their definitions.]

6. Fourthly, some consideration may also be had of the special matter of the definitions of those four councils which were all spent upon the deity and incarnation of Christ and the Trinity, the great fundamental doctrines of Christianity; and to that also Vincentius directs us in another caution of his, "The ancient consent of the holy fathers is not to be sought and followed in all the little questions of the divine law, but only, sure principally, in the rule of faith, those

[u] [Hic jam consequens esse video ut exemplis demonstrem quonam modo profanæ hæreticorum novitates] prolatis atque collatis veterum magistrorum concordantibus sibimet sententiis [et deprehendantur et condemnentur. Quæ tamen] antiqua sanctorum patrum consensio, non in omnibus divinæ legis quæstiunculis, sed solum [vel] certe præcipue in fidei regula [magno nobis studio et] investiganda est et sequenda. Sed neque semper neque omnes hæreses hoc modo impugnandæ sunt, sed novitiæ recentesque tantummodo, [cum primum scilicet exoriuntur,] antequam infalsarint vetustæ fidei regulas, [ipsius temporis vetentur angustiis ac priusquam manante latius veneno majorum volumina vitiare conentur. Cæterum dilatatæ et inveteratæ hæreses nequaquam hac via aggrediendæ sunt, eo quod prolixo temporum tractu longa iis furandæ veritatis patuerit occasio. Atque ideo quascunque illas antiquiores vel schismatum, vel hæreseon profanitates nullo modo nos oportet nisi] aut sola, [si opus est,] scripturarum auctoritate [convincere] aut [certe] jam antiquitus universalibus [sacerdotum] catholicorum conciliis [convictas damnatasque vitare.]—Vincent., cap. 28. p. 70.

CHAP. V.

which the Apostles thought necessary to be believed, and so taught them universally."

7. And therefore of the Scriptures, of the creed, (that *regula fidei una, sola immobilis et irreformabilis*, "that one, only immovable and unreformable rule of faith," as Tertullian[x] calls it,) and of those four councils, as the repositories of all true apostolical tradition, I suppose it very regular to affirm that the entire body of the Catholic faith is to be established, and all heresies convinced, or else that there is no just reason that any doctrine should be condemned as such.

8. This I have elsewhere[y] cleared both out of the express words of the council of Ephesus, the third of those four, "that no man should produce, or offer to any convert whether from gentilism, Judaism, heresy, any other belief beside that which was established by the fathers at Nice:" from the Greeks in the council of Florence, that no man except he were mad would charge that faith of imperfection[z]: from the Latins, who acknowledged there that all difference as well as contrariety of faith was forbidden by those fathers, and that a bare explication of the same for the whole Church was not lawful for any to attempt but an universal council[a]: from the epistle of Celestine there cited, that the faith delivered by the Apostles admits neither increase nor diminution[b]: and lastly from the catechism collected out of Costerus, Petrus a Soto, and others, set out by command of the archbishop of Triers, that there was never any heresy which might not be condemned by the Apostles' creed. Add to these the authority of the Greek Church, as we find it testified by Jeremias patriarch of Constantinople in their censure of the Germans, where having recited the Nicene creed, without the *filioque*, as proposed by the Nicene, confirmed by the Constantinopolitan fathers, p. 13, he adds, *Hæc est illa divina, sanctis-*

[x] [See note d, p. 77.]

[y] Reply to Cath. Gent., ch. viii. § 2. n. 4—7. [Hammond's Works, vol. ii. p 45.]

[z] [καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐγκαλέσει ἀτέλειαν πίστεως εἰ μή τις εἴη μαινόμενος.—Conc. Florent., Sessio X., ap Binii Conc., tom. viii. p. 642.]

[a] [Ibid.]

[b] [μετὰ ταῦτα ἀνεγνώσθη ἡ ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ Καιλεστίνου πρὸς Νεστόριον, ἥτις ἄρχεται, Ἀπό τινων ἡμερῶν· καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων φησί· τίς ποτε οὐκ ἐκρίθη ἄξιος τοῦ ἀναθέματος ἢ προστιθέμενος ἢ ἀφαιρῶν; καὶ γὰρ ἡ πίστις ἡ παραδοθεῖσα παρὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων, οὔτε προσθήκην, οὔτε μείωσιν ἀπαιτεῖ· ἀνέγνωμεν ἐν ταῖς βίβλοις ταῖς ἡμετέραις, ὅτι μεγίστη προσβάλλει τιμωρία τὸν ἀφαιροῦντα καὶ τὸν προστιθέντα.—Ibid., p. 644.]

sima, perfecta, ac universalis per orbem terrarum fusi populi Christiani tessera, hæc est illa communis confessio omnium sanctorum patrum. Hic est certissimus universæ Christianæ fidei limes; and again, *veluti quoddam cœleste, integrum et incorruptum ... divino numine afflatorum hominum depositum,* p. 14.

SECT. 8.

OF THE SUBSEQUENT GENERAL COUNCILS. THE ROMANISTS DIFFERENCE THEM.

[Difference between these four and other universal councils.]

1. If after all this it be still further demanded what reverence is due to all other universal councils, and why not the same as to these four? I answer, first, that the reasons of a difference have been sufficiently given already, and so as is *ad homines*, to the Romanists, unreprovable, it being most evident that among them there is difference made between some of those which yet they deem to be all œcumenical councils.

2. For first, it is certain that they reckon above eight of these; and even the bishops of Rome themselves in their exaltation to the papacy, who would sure be supposed to undertake the maintaining of the whole Catholic faith, do profess to maintain no more than the eight first of them. The words of this profession we have set down out of their own day-book, in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, in this form[c], "I profess to keep whole to a tittle the eight holy universal councils, the first at Nice, &c., and to esteem them worthy of like honour and veneration, and by all means to follow and preach all that they have promulgated and decreed, and with heart and mouth to condemn all that they have condemned."

3. Secondly, it is as evident that all bishops of Rome in former times have not, at least with equal reverence, received all these eight, which these now thus receive. I shall give an instance or two.

4. Pope Nicolaus the First[d], in the damnation of Photius,

[c] [See note s, p. 252.]

[d] [Hæc et his similia contra evangelica, apostolica, prophetica atque canonica instituta afferens, sit Dei omnipotentis et beatorum apostolorum principum Petri et Pauli et] omnium simul sanctorum, atque venerandorum sex [universalium] conciliorum auctoritate

CHAP. V.

after the authority of God and the princes of the Apostles Peter and Paul, mentioning that also of all the holy and venerable universal councils, numbers but six of them, and this A. C. 862, that, is eighty years after the holding of the seventh council.

5. And so also doth Pope Adrian II.[e], his successor, epist. xxvi. *ad Carolum Calvum.*

6. And Binius that in his margin[f] takes notice of these two passages, and promiseth to render a reason thereof afterwards, when he comes to the due place of performing that promise, speaks not a word of that matter, unless this be it, that Anastasius Bibliothecarius saith of two archbishops, *Epistolas pontificis ad libitum falsasse,* "that they falsified at their pleasure the epistles of Pope Nicolaus." Which if it were granted to be true, yet neither concludes it that they thus falsified this particular passage in this epistle, which indeed nothing concerned the cause of those archbishops, nor can be any way deemed applicable to Pope Adrian doing the same, of whom neither Anastasius nor Binius himself so much as suggest any such thing, and therefore this was certainly a most gainless artifice of evasion, and an indication that there was no better to be found to salve this business.

7. Baronius in his reciting that epistle of Nicolaus, hath in effect the same marginal observation[g], before Binius, and "promiseth to render the reason of it, afterward on another occasion," not directing us where that should be looked for; yet he defers it not long, for he doth it in the very next section, rendering this only account of it: 1. That[h] in all the

[necnon et Spiritus Sancti per nos judicio, omni sacerdotali honore et nomine alienus et omni clericatus officio prorsus exutus.— Nicolai Epist. vii. cap. 1. ap. Binii Conc., tom. vi. p. 496.]

[e] [Sed de his] nihil audemus judicare quod possit Niceno concilio et quinque cæterorum conciliorum regulis [vel decretis nostrorum antecessorum] obviare.—Adriani II. Epist. xxvii. Ib., p. 690.

[f] Cur hic Nicolaus, et infra Hadrianus [in epistola ad Carolum regem] sex tantum œcumenicas synodos nominent, dicam infra in notis conc. Rom. iii. sub.—Ib., p. 496.

[g] Cur tam Nicolaus hic quam ejus successor Hadrianus [in epistola ad Carolum regem] sex tantum Œcumenicas synodos nominet, inferius ab authore alia occasione dicetur.—Tom. x. p. 234. an. 863. n. 6.

[h] In reliquis omnibus ecclesiis patriarchalibus orientis, Constantinopolitana excepta [ecclesia] sex tantum œcumenicas synodos in publicis confessionibus [et professionibus] nominari consuevisse [sicut in decreto synodali nuper recitato factum legimus: testatur sane id ipse Photius in encyclica epistola ad omnes patriarchales orientis sedes

other patriarchal Churches, but Constantinople, there were only six œcumenical councils named in their public confessions, citing Photius' epistle for it; and thence concluding that what Nicolaus did was done by the other patriarchal sees, even by his enemies' confession. Secondly, that the like cause was to be rendered for both, that till Anastasius helped them to a translation of the acts of that synod out of pure copies, they did not give it the title of an œcumenical council, and accordingly Nicolaus thus long also suspended his judgment.

8. But Binius, which surely saw these answers of Baronius, could not, though he were much distressed, as hath appeared, think fit to make use of either of them, or refer the reader to them, though he bids vide Baron., an. 863. 20, &c., which belongs to another matter.

9. And indeed the first part of the cardinal's account doth confess that no other patriarchal see but Constantinople did at this time receive this council. And so Photius, then patriarch of Constantinople, which most zealously asserted it, doth acknowledge in his Encyclical Epistle to the Archbishops of the Orient[1]. And these patriarchal sees had great

data, hoc ipso anno inferius suo loco recitanda cum hoc ipsum ille conatus apud eos est ut non sex tantum ut Nicolaus fecisse visus est sed septem æqua probatione titulo œcumenico synodos prædicarent. Sic igitur quod hic vides Nicolaum fecisse a ceteris antiquis patriarchalibus sedibus factitatum, testificatione etiam adversantis Photii certum atque exploratum habetur. Cujus rei causa sicut de patriarchalibus illis sedibus ea asseritur, quos ejus synodi acta, ut ibi habet Photius, ad eas non pervenerint; similem causam de Romana ecclesia accidisse, Anastasius bibliothecarius affirmare videtur nimirum quod ea quæ ejusdem synodi extarent Romæ acta ita ex Græco male reddita haberentur, ut probata licet et confirmata ab Hadriano et successoribus eadem synodus esset, posteri tamen] non eodem præconio, nempe titulo œcumenico fuerint eandem prosecuti, [quousque fidelioribus adhibitis exemplaribus, eadem ex purissimus fontibus Latinitati daretur; quod præstitit ipse Anastasius bibliothecarius, ut idem præfando demonstrat. Sic igitur] Nicolaus [dum tacuit,] judicium suspendet suum ex dicta causa, [nunquam tamen negavit œcumenicam esse dicendam. Ceterum in deteriorem partem accipiens rem hanc calumniator Photius, eidem Nicolao, ut videbis, negotium facessit, quod non nisi sex tantum reciperet synodos œcumenicas, cum tamen eam Nicolaus semper ab ecclesia Romana receptam atque servatam, universalique ecclesiæ servandam, esse propositam suis redditis literis edocuerit, ut suo loco plenius apparebit.—Baronii Ann. Eccl., an. 863. n. 7. tom. x. p. 234.]

[1] [καὶ τοῦτο δὲ προστεθῆναι χρεὼν τοῖς γράμμασιν ἠγησάμεθα, ἵνα τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ οἰκουμενικὴν ἑβδόμην σύνοδον ταῖς ἁγίαις καὶ οἰκουμενικαῖς ἓξ συνόδοις συντάττειν καὶ συναριθμεῖν παντὶ τῷ ὑφ' ὑμῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας παραδοθείη πληρώματι· φήμη γὰρ ἦκεν εἰς ἡμᾶς ὥς] τινες τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν ἀποστολικὸν ὑμῶν θρόνον ἐκκλησίαι μεχρὶ τῆς ἑκτῆς τὰς οἰκουμενικὰς ἀριθμοῦσαι (so it should be read, not ἀριθμῆσαι) συνόδους, τὴν ἑβδόμην οὐκ ἴσασιν [ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἐν αὐτῇ κυρωθέντα, εἴπερ τι ἄλλο, διὰ σπουδῆς καὶ σεβασμίστητος ἄγουσιν,] αὐτὴν δὲ ἀνακηρύττειν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ὥσπερ καὶ

CHAP. V.

reason so to forbear, for they were none of them present either in person or by legates or proxies at that council, as may well appear by the same Baronius in his setting down the history of it; confessing that Tarasius' legate could not come to them, that when they were as far as Palestine they heard of the death of Theodorus patriarch of Jerusalem, and were advertised by some monks how dangerous it was to "go either to the patriarch of Antioch or Alexandria," and consequently were persuaded to give over the attempt[k]. As for the pretended legates of those sees, they were evidently but impostors, John and Thomas the presbyters were not sent by the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch,—for the see of Jerusalem it was void, as was said, by the death of Theodorus,—but were sent only by those monks or hermits of Palestine, as appears by the letters which they brought with them, beginning thus, τοῖς πανιέροις ἡμεῖς, κ.τ.λ. οἱ ταπεινοὶ καὶ τῶν τὴν ἔρημον παροικεῖν ἐφιεμένων ἔσχατοι· "Having read your letters, we the mean, and last or lowest of those that have desired to live in the desert," or the hermetic life. See Concil. Nic. ii. Act. 3[l]. And so this being most true, is very far from an answer to the objection; it is a large addition to the force of it, as far as concerns the authority of that council.

10. And for the other part, that the Latins as yet wanted pure copies of it, that can as little be pretended so many years after the holding of that council, especially when the acts of it had now long since, immediately after the making them, been discussed in the council of Frankfort, and by Pope Adrian I. defended against that council.

11. That which Bellarmine[m] adventures on in this matter

τὰς ἄλλως οὕπω τυχεῖν ἐπιγνώσεως [καίτοι τὸ ἴσον ἐκείναις ἁπανταχοῦ διασωζούσης ἀξίωμα.—Phot.] Epist. ii. p. 60.

[k] [Non sic autem fuit facultas tribus Patriarchis Orientalibus ad Tarasium rescribendi: neque etiam legatis missis ab ipso facultas data fuit eosdem conveniendi cum regnaret de quo diximus, Aaron princeps Sarracenorum acerbissimus tyrannus, in Christianos infensissimus, Cum autem duo qui missi fuerant ad eos legati Constantinopoli pervenissent in Palæstinam, audientes Theodorum Patriarcham Ierosolymorum exulem jam defunctum: diverterunt ad monachos vita sanctissimos, a quibus acerbissimam quam paterentur Christiani Orientales servitutem intellexerunt, quamque periculosum esset adire sive Antiochenum sive Alexandrinum Patriarcham, nimirum si detecti essent fore ut fideles conjicerent. Quamobrem eos a proposito revocarunt illuc proficiscendi.—Ann. Eccl., anno 785. n. 72. tom. ix. p. 383.]

[l] Concil., tom. v. p. 594, E.

[m] [Est autem valde credibile S. Thomam, Alexandrum Alensem, et alios doctores scholasticos illius temporis non vidisse Nicænam synodum secundam,

is yet more strange and irreconcilable with the confession of Baronius; for Baronius had confessed that Anastasius had translated that council out of a pure copy, and so brought it to Rome; and yet this other cardinal would persuade us that long after Anastasius, even after the time of Thomas Aquinas and Halensis, the acts of this seventh council lay hid, and so were not produced till that last age wherein himself had lived; which if it were granted him to be true, it would sure be little for the dignity and authority of that council.

12. Further yet; in the *Corpus Juris Canonici* set out *emendate* by the command of Pope Gregory XIII., there is no mention of any more than six general councils, save only in that one passage out of the Day-book of the popes' profession to maintain the eight, which is to me an argument, that all general councils are not so revered by them, as that all their canons are obliging among them.

13. I shall not need to add more evidences to infer so obvious a conclusion, that among the Romanists themselves, all general councils have not had the same reception and veneration, when in their *Corpus Juris, Decret.* part i. the seventeenth distinction is thus prefaced: *Generalia concilia quorum tempore celebrata sint, vel quorum auctoritas cæteris præemineat, sanctorum auctoritatibus supra monstratum est,* "In whose time the general councils have been celebrated, or which of them hath a more eminent authority than the rest, hath been shewed by the authorities of holy men," referring to Dist. 16, wherein yet, as I said, there is no mention of any more than the first six, save only that the pope professeth to maintain eight.

SECT. 9.

OUR REVERENCE TO ALL GENERAL COUNCILS. THE FIFTH AND THE SIXTH.

1. This might make any second or further answer unnecessary, yet I shall not doubt to proceed some steps fur-

neque octavam synodum generalem, neque epist. Hadriani Papæ I. pro defensione synodi Nicænæ. Nam hæc omnia longo tempore latuerunt et hoc nostro sæculo primum edita sunt, ut vel ex eo cognosci potest, quod in tomis conciliorum paulo antiquioribus nihil horum extat, et sanctus Thomas, aliique scholastici veteres nullam unquam de hac Nicæna synodo mentionem faciunt.—Bellarm., De Imagin. Sanc., lib. ii. cap. 22. tom. ii. p. 409.]

CHAP. V.

ther, and 1. allow the same credit, though not the same degree of reverence, for the reasons premised, to all assemblies of Christians which have served the Church in this office of conveying apostolical truths to us, and which are according to right reason and by the grounds premised, qualified for a good Christian's reception, or as are not under some very just prejudice: nay, 2. though I make it no matter of faith, because delivered neither by Scripture nor apostolic tradition, yet I shall number it among the *pie credibilia*, that no general council, truly such, 1. duly assembled, 2. freely celebrated, and 3. universally received, either hath erred, or ever shall err in matters of faith.

2. The expressing myself more fully in which particulars, will be a means to bring this whole matter to such an issue as I shall hope no adversary will with any colour of reason, or truth, be able to gainsay.

[Our Church makes no doubt of the fifth council;]

3. And 1. for the fifth general council, it being for the doctrinal part of it but a corroboration of the fourth, our Church makes no more doubt of that than of the fourth it doth. Only after the example of Vincentius Lirinensis, that famous propugnator of the Catholic faith against all heresies, and by strength of the premised Ephesine canon, we believe the four first councils to be the conservatories of all truly Catholic, i. e. apostolic tradition, from whence, together with the Scripture, all heresies may be oppugned and confuted, and so have no such need of, or benefit from this fifth, as from the former four councils.

[nor of the sixth, so far as concerns the error of the Monothelites.]

4. So 2. for the sixth, as far as that concerns the error of the Monothelites, which denied the two wills in Christ, so it is duly founded in Scripture, and the same apostolic tradition which had asserted the two natures against Eutyches, and we willingly receive it, thinking it unnecessary to proceed to those other acts that go under the name of that council, but were written afterward, and which the Romanists acknowledge to be corrupt and not to savour of apostolical tradition[n]. "There are," saith the history of that

[n] See Corp. Jur. Can. Decret., part i. distinct. 16. c. 6. Habeo librum [continentem canones sanctæ sextæ synodi, Patriarcha dixit. Quidam scandalizantur per ignorantiam pro canonibus istis, dicentes: Nunquid sexta synodus canones fecit? Sciant ergo, quoniam sancta synodus sexta sub Constantino congregata est contra eos qui dicebant unam operationem et unam voluntatem

council, "carried about some canons in the name of that sixth synod in Trullo, but they were set out without the legates of the apostolic see and not approved by them, wherein there be also some things which savour not of apostolical tradition [o]."

5. From which words I suppose I may conclude the reason of the legates not confirming them to be this, because they did not savour of apostolical tradition. And then these two inferences are clear. First, that it is the Romanists' judgment unquestionably, and that appears not only by this but by many other instances, especially by that of Chalcedon about the privileges of New Rome,—that the decree of a general council is not valid from itself or any innate authority, for if it were it would not need the authority of the pope himself to give it that validity, but receives its force from subsequent approbation, or else is not a catholic decree.

6. And then what reason can be rendered why the want of the approbation of other apostolical churches should not have the same efficacy to prejudge the universality of a decree? For sure they are Christians and bishops as well as the bishops of Rome, and consequently their negatives as evident exceptions and prejudices to, and as utterly irreconcilable with an universal affirmative as the pope's can be; and the

esse in Christo, in qua sancti patres illos ut hæreticos anathematizarunt, et orthodoxam fidem explanaverunt. Et soluta synodus est Constantino quartodecimo anno. Post quatuor vero aut quinque annos iidem sancti patres congregati sunt sub Justiniano filio Constantini et prædictos canones promulgaverunt: de quibus nullus dubitet. Qui enim sub Constantino in synodo fuerunt iidem ipsi episcopi sub Justiniano istis canonibus subscripserunt. Oportebat enim ut synodus universalis canones ecclesiasticos promulgaret. *Item* 4. Sancta sexta synodus post promulgatam ab ea definitionem contra Monothelitas, Constantino Imperatore, qui eam congregaverat non multo post defuncto et Justiniano ejus filio regnante pro eo. Eadem sancta synodus divinitus inspirata iterum Constantinopoli quarto aut quinto anno congregata est et canones numero cii. ad correctionem ecclesiæ promulgavit.] Et ibid., c. 7. [Quoniam sanctæ et universalis synodi, quinta sub Justiniano Augusto, sexta sub Constantino patre tuo Augusto, de mysterio fidei plenissime disputantes canones non fecerunt, sicut cæteræ quatuor universales synodi, propterea nos convenientes in hanc imperialem urbem sacros canones conscripsimus. *Item* 2. Placuit huic sanctæ synodo ut amodo confirmata et rata sint canonum Apostolorum lxxxv. cap. *Item* 3. Confirmamus et cæteros sanctorum canones et synodos id est Nicænam, &c. See also the] notes [to both these chapters.]

[o] Circumferuntur autem nonnulli canones nomine sextæ synodi in Trullo, veruntamen editi sine legatis Apostolicæ sedis, nec ab ea comprobati, in quibus et nonnulla sunt quæ minus Apostolicam sapiunt traditionem.—Conc., tom. v. p. 8. See also the Admonition to the Reader prefixed to the canons of this sixth synod, ibid., p. 311, &c., which absolutely rejects those canons.

CHAP. V.

supposing that the pope hath power for the whole Church, and that infallible, for the approving or repudiating decrees, is still the removing all authority and universality from the council and placing it in the pope, making him and not the council the grand representative Church, and so is the destroying the whole doctrine of the authority of councils.

7. Secondly, that the reason or rule of the Romanists' judgment may certainly be drawn into example and prove imitable to other Christians, and then it must be lawful for the Church of God as well as for the bishop of Rome to enquire whether the decrees of an universal council have been agreeable to apostolical tradition or no, and if they be found otherwise, to reject them out, or not to receive them into their belief.

8. And then still it is the matter of the decrees and the apostolicalness of them, and the force of the testification whereby they are approved and acknowledged to be such, which gives the authority to the council, and nothing else is sufficient where that is not to be found.

9. Agreeable to which is St. Augustine's practice[p], *Contra Maximinum*, lib. ii. c. 14. [§ 3.] "Neither," saith he, "do I produce the Nicene council nor should you that of Ariminum, neither am I obliged to the authority of this, nor you of that: by the authorities of Scripture, which are not proper to one but common to both, let the matter be debated, reason contending with reason," and then devolving all the authority of that most ancient and truly general Nicene council, as well as of that other of Ariminum, to the apostolical grounds of truth, and those expressly in the written word of God,—"I and my Father are one," as the ground of *ὁμοούσιον*,—from whence they framed their decrees.

[John x. 30.]

10. To which belongs that saying of Athanasius[q] himself

[p] Nec ego Nicenum, nec tu debes Ariminense [tanquam præjudicaturus] proferre concilium, nec ego hujus authoritate, nec tu illius detineris, scripturarum auctoritatibus non quorumque propriis, sed utrisque communibus [testibus] res cum re, causa cum causa, ratio cum ratione concertet.—[Tom. viii. p. 704, F.]

[q] [*ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τοῦ πάσχα, ἔδοξε τὰ ὑποτεταγμένα· τότε γὰρ ἔδοξε πάντας πείθεσθαι, περὶ δὲ τῆς πίστεως ἔγραψαν, οὐκ, ἔδοξεν, ἀλλ', οὕτως πιστεύει ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία· καὶ εὐθὺς ὡμολόγησαν πῶς πιστεύουσιν,*] *ἵνα δείξωσιν ὅτι μὴ νεώτερον, ἀλλ' ἀποστολικόν ἐστιν αὐτῶν τὸ φρόνημα, καὶ ἃ ἔγραψαν, οὐκ ἐξ αὐτῶν εὑρέθη, ἀλλὰ ταῦτ' ἔστιν, ἅπερ ἐδίδαξαν οἱ ἀπόστολοι.*—S. Athanas. de Synod. Arimin. et Seleuc., [cap. 5. tom. i. p. 719.]

of the manner of subscriptions in the council of Nice, who though in the matter of Easter, being not a doctrine but a rite, they thought good to use this form, *Τότε γὰρ ἔδοξε πάντας πείθεσθαι*, "It seemed then good to us that all should obey or observe that time" which they had defined; yet concerning the matters of faith, *ἔγραψαν, οὐκ ἔδοξεν, ἀλλ', οὕτως πιστεύει ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία*, "they wrote, not 'It seemed good to us,' but 'Thus the Catholic Church commands,'" presently setting down the confession itself, "that they might demonstrate that their sense was not new but apostolical, and that what they wrote was not invented by themselves, but was the very same which the Apostles had taught." SECT. IX.

SECT. 10.

OF THE SEVENTH GENERAL COUNCIL.

[Reasons for not allowing the authority of the seventh council.]

1. As for the seventh council, that second of Nice, I have already more than intimated the reasons why no Romanist can blame him that allows not the authority thereof.

2. Yet because those testimonies, though of popes themselves, are indeed but negative testimonies, and being designed only *ad hominem*, to the Romanist, may still stand in need of some further confirmation to others; that also is ready at hand and may be deduced from two heads, 1. from the council of Eliberis, 2. from the council of Frankfort, which presently after the publishing of the decrees of Nice for the worshipping of images, opposed and refuted that doctrine.

3. For the first of these, the council of Eliberis, that yields us an irrefragable proof that the doctrine of the second Nicene council was not testified by all the Church of all ages to be of tradition apostolical.

4. The thirty-sixth canon of that council lies thus; *Placuit picturas in ecclesia esse non debere, ne quod colitur et adoratur in parietibus depingatur*[r]: "It is resolved that pictures should not be in the church, lest that which is adored be

[r] [Labbe, Conc., tom. i. p. 974.]

CHAP. V.

painted on walls." Which though it be but a canon of a provincial council and that in a matter of rite, and so hath no power of obliging all others beyond that province, and might also be thereafter retracted again; yet being in the year of our Lord 305, twenty years before the first Nicene council, and so 482 years before the second, is a convincing argument that what was in the second Nicene defined, was not the language of apostolical tradition, universally testified to be such; for then these fathers at Eliberis, and among them the great Hosius, which sat after in the first council of Nice and Liberius, whose name we have in the council of Arles[s], would never have made this decree so directly contrary to such pretended tradition apostolical.

5. In this matter it is worth observing how Cardinal Baronius hath behaved himself[t]. In his first volume being troubled that nineteen bishops in a corner of the world should decree otherwise than, as he is concerned to believe, the universal Church of all places professed, he attempts to annul this council, rendering his reason, *Pleraque enim in eo sunt quæ fines Novatiani erroris visa sunt prope attigisse,* "There were very many canons in it, which seemed almost to touch upon the borders of the Novatian heresy:" and if they were but the borders of heresy, and these canons did only touch upon those

[s] [Amongst the nineteen names prefixed to the council of Eliberis (A.D. 305) the second is, Osius episcopus Cordubensis; the tenth, Liberius episcopus Emeritensis.—Labbe, tom. i. p. 969. The former is mentioned first at the Nicene council (A.D. 325) as Osius episcopus civitatis Cordubensis provinciæ Hispaniæ.—Labbe, tom. ii. p. 50. At the first council of Arles the latter is mentioned amongst the Bishops *de Galliis* as Liberius episcopus . . . . de civitate Emerita, provincia Hispania. —Labbe, tom. i. p. 1430.]

[t] [Anne potuit vel debuit decem et novem episcoporum conventus in orbis angulo congregatus aliud statuisse quam ubique locorum universalis profiteretur ecclesia? Constat quidem dictum concilium paulo ante Constantini imperium, cum persecutio nondum penitus ubique locorum exstincta esset, esse celebratum. Nam eidem et Osius Cordubensis legitur interfuisse, necnon Liberius episcopus Emeritæ, qui etiam scriptus reperitur in secundo concilio Arelatensi sub ejusdem imperii anno non convocato, Volusiano et Aniano consulibus. Porro ipsum in multis esse irritum multa sunt quæ manifeste declarant: pleraque enim in eo sunt, quæ fines Novatiani erroris visa sunt prope attigisse; dum iis qui capitalia quædam crimina perpetrassent, nec in fine communionem esse dandam pluribus canonibus statuitur. Sapere hæc hæresim Novatianam, qui Cypriani et aliorum de ea re scripta legerint, facile cognoscent. Ab ecclesia enim catholica non illud omnino alienum esse reperitur, quod in eo statutum est, ut nec in fine communicet, qui post pœnitentiam mœchatus fuerit. Ceterum quod sciamus ejus conventus episcopos fuisse catholicos, de Novatiana hæresi nulla suspicio esse debet; cum præsertim hi, licet communionem, tamen pœnitentiam non negarent, ut de eo Innocentius Papa tradit scribens ad Exuperium. —Baronius, Ann. Eccl.,] ad an. 57. n. cxxi. tom. i. p. 484.

SECT. X.

borders, or indeed but seem, and that again but almost seem, then these canons might be very catholic and orthodox for all that.

6. The truth is, those canons that deny only communion to the *lapsi*, but deny them not repentance and absolution, are far enough from Novatian, and so presently after he acknowledges, *Cæterum quod sciamus ejus conventus episcopos fuisse catholicos, de Novatiana hæresi nulla suspicio esse debet, cum præsertim hi licet communionem, tamen pœnitentiam non negarent, ut de eo Innocentius papa tradit:* "But seeing we know that the bishops of that council were Catholic, they must not be suspected of Novatianism, especially seeing though they denied communion, they did not deny repentance, as Pope Innocent affirms of that council."

7. Here in the same paragraph he hath freed them from that suspicion which he was willing to have affixed on them; and it seems Pope Innocent was to be thanked for it, who appeared on their side, or else Hosius, &c. must have gone for Novatians, and then never have been worth heeding in any other matter. This further appears by the same Baronius[u] in his second volume, where having the same words again, of the *propemodum visi sunt Novatianorum limites attigisse,* "that they almost seemed to touch upon the borders of the Novatians;" he renders that as the cause that there is no mention of this synod by name among the ancients, and so that it remained almost antiquated, therefore, saith he, "he remembered he had spoken elsewhere" (in the place forementioned) *paulo liberius,* "a little too freely of that council;" but seeing their resolutions herein were excused by Pope Innocent, *nemo sit qui accusare præsumat,* "no man may presume to accuse that council." And then sure this cardinal had been too bold in thus presuming.

[u] [Quod insuper austeriori quodam spiritu iidem qui in eandem synodum convenere patres sanctissimi, propemodum visi sint Novatianorum limites attigisse quippe qui lapsis nec in fine communionem dandam esse statuerint, ea de causa factum puto ut, cum hæc displicuerint successoribus, nulla sicut de aliis ejus synodi nominatim ab antiquioribus mentio habeatur, atque sic prope antiquata remanserit. Quamobrem paulo liberius de Eliberino concilio me alias locutum esse memini. At cum quæ ab illis de ea re sunt statuta, excusentur ab eodem qui supra Innocentio Romano pontifice, nemo sit qui accusare præsumat. — Baronius, Ann. Eccl.] ad an. 305. n. xli. [tom. ii. p. 796.]

CHAP. V.

8. What other arts he now betakes himself to, to deliver him from the force of that canon against images, I shall not now examine; there being nothing of any force to supersede my conclusion that this canon is sufficient prejudice to the universality of the testification, that the Nicene canons for images are of apostolical tradition. And it is here observable that though this synod pretend to tradition of all times on their side, yet the highest testimony thereof to which they pretend is that of the sixth council[x], whose canons they assert, and cite the eighty-second for their turn; and yet, as hath been here shewed in this chapter[y], the Romanists themselves reject these canons, and so doth the Admonition to the Reader prefixed to them in Binius' edition of the councils[z].

9. As for the council of Frankfort, that makes it as plain that the decrees of these Nicene fathers were not received, but rejected by other parts of the Christian Church in France, in Germany, and Italy, if not in Spain also.

10. This Binius would fain conceal; and accordingly in the title of that council of Frankfort, was willing to anticipate the reader's judgment, by telling him that these three hundred bishops there convened "confirmed the acts of the council of Nice in the matter of images[a]."

11. For this he afterwards gives his reasons[b], such as they are, but acknowledges that both the great cardinals Bellarmine and Baronius were of the contrary mind. To them therefore, and to the evidences whereby they were convinced, I may be allowed to appeal.

12. And indeed Baronius[c] is so far from doubting it, that

[x] See Act. vi. tom. v. p. 732, B. [ἡ δὲ ἁγία ἕκτη καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ σύνοδος μετὰ τὸ ἐκφωνῆσαι τὸν ἑαυτῆς ὅρον κατὰ τῶν τὸ ἓν θέλημα πρεσβευόντων ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν, Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ τότε βασιλεύοντος, καὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ προστάξει, εὐδοκίᾳ Θεοῦ ταύτην συναθροίσαντος, μετ' οὐ πόλυ τὸν βίον ἀπολιπόντος καὶ Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ αὐτοῦ υἱοῦ τὸ βασίλειον εἰσπεποιημένοις αὐτοὶ ἐκεῖνοι οἱ ἐν αὐτῇ συναθροισθέντες, πάλιν θείᾳ ἐπινεύσει ὁμοθυμαδὸν συνελθόντες μετὰ τέσσερας ἢ πέντε χρόνους, κανόνας ἐξέδωκαν ἐπὶ κατορθώσει τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πραγμάτων ἕως τῶν δύο καὶ ἑκατόν· ἐν οἷς κανόσι καὶ περὶ τῶν εἰκόνων ἐκ τῷ ὀγδοηκοστῷ δευτέρῳ κανόνι ἐξέθεντο οὕτως ——]

[y] Sect. ix. § 4.

[z] Tom. v. p. 311, &c.

[a] [Concilium Francofordiense Provinciale approbatum quo trecenti circiter episcopi Elipandum et Felicem eorumque hæresim de Filio Dei quæ Feliciana nominatur, condemnarunt] actaque Niceni concilii secundi in causa imaginum confirmarunt [anno Domini 794 tempore Hadriani Pap. I. et Caroli Magni, anno imperii illius 26.]—Concil., tom. vi. p. 163.

[b] [Ibid., p. 185.]

[c] Tantum abest [igitur] ut negemus Nicænam secundam synodam eandemque septimam œcumenicam dictam

he solemnly professeth by undeniable testimonies to put it beyond all question, and so he doth out of Walafridus, Strabo, Amalarius, Hincmarus, Anastasius, and many others.

13. What he determineth concerning the invalidity of that council of Frankfort is not now pertinent to examine; my conclusion is sufficiently evinced without that enquiry, viz., that that council of Nice was no universal testimony of tradition apostolical, or indeed of the whole Church of that age, when it was so far from being received and approved by all the world, that as soon as the news of the acts thereof came to the ears of the council then assembled at Frankfort,—three hundred bishops, of Germany, France, and Italy, saith Surius, others add, out of Spain also a hundred and twenty-four,—the council solemnly oppugned and refuted them.

14. Of this the reader may have the clearest prospect in several places of the works of G. Cassander, both in his Consultation[d], and especially in his nineteenth epistle[e], where he gives Joh. Molinæus a full account of the four books written by the authority and under the name of Charles the French king, and approved by that whole council of Frankfort, and so sent to the pope against the decrees of the council of Nice in the matter of image worship, pronouncing both of those books, and that synod, and other eminent persons of that age, of the same sense with them, "that they never were condemned, nor," as he thinks, "will ever be by those men that are in their wits[f]."

15. Some question I know there is made by others; whether this council of Frankfort rightly understood the decrees of that council of Nice, and whether those four books compiled, as it is probable, by Alcuinus and approved by that council, did not confound the two seventh councils, the true, that at Nice, and the false, that of the Iconoclastæ at Constantinople.

damnatam dici in Francofurdiensi concilio, ut etiam augeamus numerum testium id profitentium, et quidem haud dubiæ fidei [vel rejiciendæ] auctoritatis.—Baronii Ann. Eccles., an. 794. n. 40. tom. x. p. 442.

[d] p. 977.

[e] p. 1103.

[f] [Hæc de synodo hac Græcorum adversus quam Carolus hos libros conscripsit comperta habeo ita] qui libros hosce damnandos aut reprobandos putet, idem necessario et ipsam synodum Francofordiensem, et alios insignes ea ætate scriptores damnandos esse fateatur, quod neque factum est unquam; neque futurum certe a sanis hominibus puto.—Ibidem, p. 1104.

CHAP. V.

16. But neither are we concerned in either of those questions. For still it remains certain and unquestioned, that the council of Nice, whether by their mistake or otherwise, was not by all men universally received. The three hundred bishops at Frankfort received it not, but professedly opposed it.

17. And if the canons of Frankfort were not approved by the pope, as it is again suggested, yet still this is a sufficient prejudice to the universality of those Nicene canons, without the pope's being one of those that condemned them, which cannot be universal testifiers whilst they want universal consent, and are oppugned and disclaimed by Charles the king, and the three hundred bishops which were there convened at Frankfort, and by as many as adhered to the sentence of those bishops in opposition to those but three hundred and thirty which were assembled at Nice.

18. And indeed we that in this matter approve of the doctrine of the Frankfort decrees, as that is summed up in those few words which the books[g] in Charles' name deduce from Pope Gregory, in his epistle to Serenus bishop of Marseilles, viz., that "images are neither to be broken nor worshipped," that they be lawfully used in the Church, but must not by any means be adored, can never be blamed for rejecting the doctrine of any general council. For if that of

[g] Vide Cass., p. 977. [.... ut cum in synodo Nicena sub Constantino et Irene de imaginibus adorandis aliquot decreta edita fuissent, atque exemplar illius Græcanicæ synodi Francofurtum, ubi tunc a Carolo episcoporum Germaniæ, Galliæ, Aquitaniæ, Italiæ, adversus Felicem quendam Orgelitanum episcopum Christum ratione humanæ naturæ filium adoptivum asserentem, frequens synodus habebatur, allatum et jussu Caroli diligenter lectum fuisset, cui synodo etiam legati Romani pontificis interfuerunt, summo patrum consensu Græca illa synodus, qua parte imagines adorandas censebat, improbata et damnata fuit, ut quæ non modo divinis literis et antiquæ patrum traditioni, sed etiam consuetudini Romanæ ecclesiæ adversaretur, quæ damnatio etiam actis et capitibus illius Francofordiensis synodi inserta fuit, atque ea de re Caroli ipsius titulo quatuor libri conscripti fuere, quorum Hincmarus episcopus Rhemensis meminit, et eorum exemplum hodieque in bibliotheca Vaticana et in nonnullis Galliæ locis extat, qui libri et rationes Orientalium Patrum diligenter confutant, et quæ hactenus fuerat Romanæ ecclesiæ sententiam acriter defendunt, quæ sententia breviter comprehenditur in] epistola Gregorii ad Serenum [episcopum Massiliensem, cujus supra meminimus, quam in suo scripto] adducit Carolus, lib. ii. c. 23. Cujus hoc est argumentum: Imagines a beato Gregorio Romanæ urbis antistite et adorari prohibentur et frangi.—Vide Gregorii Epist. [13] ex registro epistolarum, [lib. xi. indict. 4. tom. i. p. 1100.] Quia eas adorari vetuisses, omnino laudavimus, fregisse vero reprehendimus. Frangi [ergo] non debuit quod non ad adorandum [in ecclesiis sed ad instruendas solummodo mentes fuit nescientium collocatum.]

Nice, which is deemed such, define not for adoration of images, then it is not rejected by us; and if it do define for it, then was it rejected by Frankfort, and if so, then was it no general council. The dilemma is concludent herein without any further enquiries, either it is not rejected by us at all, as teaching no more than we profess to acknowledge, or else it may be lawfully rejected by us, because we have this evidence on our sides from the oppositions of the three hundred fathers at Frankfort and of many more, as hath been said, that it was not universal.

SECT. 11.

OF THE EIGHTH GENERAL COUNCIL.

[The eighth council to be judged of by what passed at the council of Florence.]

1. As to the eighth and last of that number to which the pope's profession extends, I desire the reader will pass his judgment of it by that which he will find in the sixth session of the council of Florence[h] in the year of Christ 1439.

2. There in the passages between Marcus Ephesius and Julian the cardinal about the ancient councils, the cardinal desired a sight of the acts of the eighth council, and complains that the book was denied him. Marcus answers that it was not "easy for him to give him the book," but if it were, there "was no necessity[i] that they should number among the

[h] Concil., tom. viii. pp. 598, sqq.

[i] [ὃ ἀπεκρινάμην τότε, τοῦτο καὶ νῦν λέγω· ὅτι οὐ μέλλει ἐμποδισθῆναι, ἵνα δείξωμεν βιβλίον ὅταν ᾖ χρεία· τὸ δὲ δοῦναι αὐτὸ οὕτως ὥστε λείπειν ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἐστι δύσκολον· περὶ δὲ τοῦ βιβλίου τούτου οὐκ ἐστιν εὔκολον δοῦναι ἡμᾶς αὐτὸ,] οὐκ ἔχομεν ἀνάγκην ἵνα συναριθμήσωμεν ταῖς οἰκουμενικαῖς συνόδοις ἄλλην σύνοδον ἥτις οὔδε ἐστέρχθη (it should be, I suppose, ἐστηρίχθη) ὅλως ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἠκυρώθη· [καὶ αὕτη ἡ σύνοδος ἣν λέγει ἡ ἀγιωσυνή σου ἔχει πράξεις κατὰ τοῦ Φωτίου, ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τοῦ πάπα Ἰωάννου καὶ τοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ· μετὰ ταῦτα ἐγένετο ἄλλη σύνοδος καὶ] ἀνόρθωσε τὸν Φώτιον, καὶ ἠκύρωσε τὴν πρώτην σύνοδον· [αὕτη ἡ σύνοδος ἥτις ὠνομάσθη καὶ ὀγδόη σύνοδος ἐγένετο ἐπὶ πάπα Ἰωάννου, οὗ τινος πάπα Ἰωάννου αἱ ἐπιστολαὶ εὑρίσκονται ὑπὸ τοῦ Φωτίου· ἐζήτησε δὲ ἡ σύνοδος αὕτη καὶ περὶ τῆς προσθήκης τοῦ συμβόλου καὶ ἔκρινεν ἄξιον ἵνα ἐξαιρέθῃ παντελῶς· καὶ νομίζομεν, ὅτι οὐδὲ ὑμεῖς ἀγνοεῖτε οὔτε τὴν σύνοδον, οὔτε τὰς ἐπιστολὰς τοῦ πάπα Ἰωάννου· καὶ ἐπείδη] ἠκυρώθησαν τὰ τῆς συνόδου ἐκείνης [οὐκ ἐστι δίκαιον ἵνα ζητῶμεν αὐτὴν, ἀλλὰ τὴν μετ' αὐτὴν μάλιστα· ἀπὸ τότε γοῦν μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἀναγινώσκεται ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως οὕτως· ἅπαντα τὰ κατὰ τῶν ἁγίων πατριαρχῶν, Φωτίου καὶ Ἰγνατίου γραφέντα ἢ λαληθέντα ἀνάθεμα· διὰ τοῦτο] ἅπερ ἀνετράπησαν οὐδὲ πρέπει ἵνα ἔλθωσιν εἰς τὸ μέσον· [Θέλω ἀπολῦσαι ὑμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ φόβου τούτου· ἵνα μὴ ἔχητε φόβον, ἵνα μηδὲν ἀναγνώσθῃ ἀπὸ τῆς ὀγδόης συνόδου· ἀξιοῦμεν δὲ, ἵνα ἔλθῃ τὸ βιβλίον ἐκεῖνο ὃ ἐζητήσαμεν· θέλομεν γὰρ ἵνα ἴδωμεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἕκτης καὶ ἑβδόμης συνόδου, καὶ] περὶ τῆς ὀγδόης οὐδὲν λέγομεν.—[Ibid.]

CHAP. V.

œcumenical councils one that was not approved[k], but rather reprobated or annulled;" for this synod, said he, "had acts against Photius in the time of Pope John and Pope Adrian," and after it there was another synod which restored Photius and annulled that former synod; that this synod, called also the eighth, was under Pope John, who wrote epistles for Photius, and those still extant, that they (the Romans) were not ignorant, he believed, either of that synod or of those epistles; and seeing "the acts of that synod were abrogated," it was not reasonable that they should seek for it, but rather for that which was after it, which from that time to this very day, of the Florentine meeting, was read in the great church of Constantinople, in these words, "Let all that hath been written or spoken against the holy patriarchs Photius or Ignatius be anathema." Wherefore, saith he, it is not fit that those "acts which were abrogated, should be produced."

3. To this full declaration and recognition of Marcus, appealing to the Romanists' own knowledge for the truth of it, the cardinal's answer is very short, in these words; "I will," saith he, "free you from this fear that any thing shall be read from the eighth council: we desire that the book which we demanded may be brought, that we may consult some passages out of the sixth and seventh council, and of the eighth we say nothing."

[It was not universally received.]

4. Here it is evident, 1. that the eighth synod was soon retracted again: and so not universally received or approved: 2. that the Greek Church from that time to the council of Florence, i. e. for the space of almost six hundred years, received it not, but the contrary, viz., that which abrogated it. 3. That this being vouched in a council to the Romans, could not in any part be denied by them, and

[k] So Jeremias patriarch of Constantinople in his censure of the Germans, still mentions but the seven general councils. See p. 5. [Quibus nos mutuo responsuri, in eo maxime elaborandum putavimus, ut nihil ex privato nostro sensu diceremus, sed ea omnia quæ in medium adferrentur,] ex sanctis et universalibus septem synodis; [quas item et vos ut scribitis præclare facientes amplectimini et osculamini.] And p. 12. [Quam quidem sententiam a trecentis decem et octo plenis Deo patribus in] Nicena [primum synodo proposita; deinde in] Constantinopolitana [a centum quinquaginta confirmatam quam] reliquæ item universales quinque synodi [nihil addentes, nihil detrahentes, verum in idem plane uno Spiritu sancto conspirantes obsignarunt; qua denique tot sanctissimi viri qui in mediis illis temporibus claruerunt a sacris synodis edocti confessi sunt, nos item cum illis omnibus Dei gratia sequimur atque confitemur.]

therefore the matter was wholly waved if not confessed. And then sure I need say no more concerning the no-authority or obligingness of that council.

5. But then to this I shall add, that this council being convened on purpose for the censuring and depriving of Photius patriarch of Constantinople, not for any heretical departure from the faith so much as pretended against him, but for some other (as they are called) excesses, of which his enemies deemed him guilty, especially because from a senator, and so a layman, he was immediately advanced to that patriarchate[l],—though very much against his will, as his epistles sufficiently testify,—the faith of Christ is little concerned in the decrees of this council, here being no testimony of the Church to be found either for or against any doctrine pretended to be derived from the Apostles.

[The arguments of Anastasius for its universality]

6. The arguments which Anastasius Bibliothecarius offers for the proving the universality of this council, where, as he saith, he was present, will hardly prevail with any.

7. "First," saith he, "it is universal, because the Catholic faith and holy laws, which ought to be reverenced not only by all priests but by all Christians, were in it uniformly defended against the enemies thereof:" which if it had any force in it, then sure every orthodox assembly, were it never so particular, a provincial synod of the bishops of any one province, or a diocesan of the one bishop and presbyters of that diocese, as long as they be in the right, or are by the Romanist supposed to be so,—as indeed that eighth council[m] professeth to retain and observe the laws delivered in the Catholic and Apostolic Church, not only from the Apostles and all orthodox councils both œcumenical and provincial, or topical, but even from any divinely speaking father, doctor of the Church,—must pass for a general and œcumenical assembly, just by the same logic that the particular Church

[l] Vide Anastasii Histor. octavæ Synodi. Concil., tom. vi. p. 706.

[m] [τὴν εὐθεῖαν καὶ βασιλικὴν ὁδὸν τῆς θείας δικαιοσύνης ἀπροσκόπως βαδίζειν ἐθέλοντες, οἷόν τινας πυρσοὺς ἀειλαμπεῖς τοὺς τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ὅρους κρατεῖν ὀφείλομεν· τοιγαροῦν] τοὺς ἐν τῇ Καθολικῇ καὶ Ἀποστολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ παραδοθέντας θεσμοὺς παρά τε τῶν ἁγίων καὶ πανευφήμων Ἀποστόλων, παρά τε ὀρθοδόξων συνόδων οἰκουμενικῶν τε καὶ τοπικῶν, ἢ καὶ πρός τινος θεηγόρου πατρὸς, διδασκάλου τῆς ἐκκλησίας, τηρεῖν καὶ φυλάττειν ὁμολογοῦμεν· [κρατεῖν γὰρ τὰς παραδόσεις ἃς παρελάβομεν, εἴτε διὰ λόγου εἴτε δι' ἐπιστολῶν τῶν προγενεστέρως διαλαμψάντων ἁγίων, παρεγγυᾷ διαρρήδην Παῦλος ὁ μέγας ἀπόστολος.]—Act. 10. Can. 1. Concil., tom. vii. p. 977.

CHAP. V.

of Rome doth pass with them for the whole Catholic Church of Christ.

8. "Secondly," saith he, "it is an universal council, because seeing Christ hath in the Church placed as many patriarchal sees as there are senses in man's body, if all those consent, there wants no more to the generality of the Church than there wants to the motion of the body, when all the five senses are entire in it."

[examined.]

9. To which I answer, 1. that if this were true, then the second council of Ephesus was a valid general council, for there were personally the patriarchs of four sees[n], and Julian as proxy of the fifth. 2. It must then follow that a synod of five men, for such are the five patriarchs, to which no sixth person in the world was ever so much as invited or summoned, may go for an assembly of the whole world. 3. That when one of the five patriarchs was here deposed, and never consented to his own deposition, it will be very hard to find the consent of these five patriarchs to all the acts of this council, and consequently to defend the perfection of it from the forementioned analogy with that of the body of man, unless when one of the five senses is shut out by the other four, the remaining four be either sufficient to represent the fifth also, which is cast out, and never consents to this law of representation, or to substitute another sense in the place of that fifth. 4. That this same author in his very next period tells us, that soon after the exaltation of this Photius, Solomon also a layman was made patriarch of Jerusalem, and then it is no way probable that this Solomon, or whatsoever other bishop of that see, which was another of these five senses, should ever consent to those canons, which are so contrary to that practice, and must infer the deposing of that Solomon as well as it did of Photius.

10. The truth is, in the subscriptions of the seventh act, there is no name of any of the five patriarchs, save only of Pope Adrian, and the archbishop of Perga in the name and stead of Ignatius the deposed, but now by this council restored, patriarch of Constantinople. And though in the tenth action we now have the names of proxies to all the rest of the patriarchs; yet sure somewhat there was in it,

[n] Concil., tom. iii. p. 61.

SECT. XI.

that after the naming of them and the emperor's proxy, Binius thinks necessary to insert an annotation, lest, as he saith, "the reader observing the paucity of subscribers should be scandalized" at it, and therefore by way of prevention he offers an account of it from the multitude of Photius' favourers, who, he confesseth, were "all excluded from this council," and so the "subscribers fit to be compared to Christ's little flock[o]," which sure is a competent prejudice to the universality of it.

11. And so likewise Anastasius' sage observation by which he backs his argument in that place, viz., that of the five senses the bishop of Rome is proportionable to *visus*, 'the sight,' which hath, saith he, the "pre-eminence of all the other senses, being acuter than they, and having communion with all as none of the rest have[p]," is a shrewd intimation of his sense, that it was the single authority of the pope[q] that both condemned Photius and gave the whole universality to this council, and then we have a very fair account of a general council, rendered such by the bare virtue of one person therein, and then I doubt not good store of universal councils may be found in the world, even as many as there have ever been assemblies or conclaves, wherein *visus*, the most eminent sense, i. e. the pope, hath had any efficacious influence by himself or his proxy.

[o] [Non te scandalizet subscribentium paucitas, quia dum Photius diu tyrannidem exercuisset, et penes omnes a piis decessoribus suis sacratos deposuisset, et in loca eorum fautores suos tantummodo provexisset quorum nullus in hac synodo est receptus, isti soli ex priorum Patriarcharum consecratione superstites sunt inventi. Verum quotquot sub Nicolao et Adriano, summis pontificibus episcopi fuerunt, hujus synodi sensui consenserunt; licet] hæc paucitas gregi illi pro sua justitia comparetur cum Dominus dicit, *nolite timere pusillus grex*, &c.—Concil., tom. vi. p. 853.

[p] [Inter quas videlicet sedes, quia Romana præcellit, non immerito visui comparatur qui] profecto cunctis sensibus præeminet, acutior illis existens, et communionem, sicut nullus eorum, cum omnibus habens.—Concil., tom. vi. p. 706.

[q] See Solocovius' Annot. on Jeremias patriarch of Constantinople, p. 8. [Postremo quod in quarta Constantinopolitana synodo quæ vere et proprie octava dicitur et in qua præter trecentos octoginta septem episcopos, Vicarii omnium primarum sedium ac ipse præsens imperator adfuerunt,] evidentius [quasi] quam in aliis omnibus declaratum est quam potestatem et auctoritatem Rom. pontifex in patriarchas Constantinopolitanos haberet, cum in ipsa eorundem urbe Constantinopoli, trecentis octoginta tribus collectis episcopis Adrianus Romanus Pontifex. Nicolai I. successor, per legatos suos, resistentibus primum et reclamantibus imperatoribus [postea autem assentientibus] et quasi pœnitentiam agentibus, ipsiusque facti authoribus Photium [ex magistro curiæ atque militiæ præfecto, a Michaele imperatore Patriarcham Constantinopolitanum factum] dejecit, gravique anathemate cum omnibus sequacibus percussit, ordinationesque ejus abrogavit.]

CHAP. V.

[Baronius' type of a council in the New Testament]

12. To which purpose it may deserve here to be remembered what type or copy of celebrating a council the learned Cardinal Baronius conceives himself to have found in the New Testament, and requires the reader of his annals to "stop and take notice of it[r], as of a thing most worthy of his observation." Such as wherein St. Peter, and from his example the bishop of Rome his successor, in a cause of the greatest moment, so "delivers his opinion, that he defines the matter in debate, and teaches and decrees what all must think, and constitutes a canon or rule of faith which must remain for ever, so that," as he saith, "there is almost no need to consult the rest of the Apostles, or ask their sentiments or opinions, it being sufficient for Christ that Peter spake and determined what was to be resolved in point of faith."

13. Here indeed is a fair foundation laid of a most magnificent structure, St. Peter's privilege in a council of all the Apostles, *ut sententiam ipse definiat;* "that he," without consulting of any other, "should give the definitive sentence."

[examined.]

14. Only it was a little unhappy that Christ Himself should be present there, and one of the interlocutors in this council, if such it were, for it is He that proposeth the question which Peter answers; and if in the one it were a type of celebrating a council, so it was in the other also, and then here were two conciliar offices, the one of proposing doubts in councils, the other of answering them; the first belonging to Christ, the second to St. Peter; and certainly the latter a place of more eminence.

[r] Hic pedem sistat atque paulum attendat diligens lector rem animadversione dignissimam. [Ejusmodi namque tanti ponderis et auctoritatis actio Christi typum quemdam exprimit celebrandi concilii. Cum missis cæteris, solus cum discipulis post preces Deo oblatas, de summa rerum quæstionem proponit: et admirabili quodam ordine, ut prius destruantur errores, ac subinde solida firmitate veritas stabilita locetur; in primis interrogat quæ sit illorum qui foris sunt opinio de filio hominis, sed cum deliramenta potius et insana ab illis dicta ferrentur, quid demum ipsi de ea re sentirent, rogat sententias omnium] Petrus [primus omnium, licet non ætate, ut sæpius diximus, sed dignitate,] talem fert sententiam, ut causam ipse definiat et quid ab omnibus sentiendum esset, erudiat atque decernat, ac fidei canonem perpetuo permansurum constituat: ut nihil ferme jam esset opus consulere cæteros tunc apostolos, ac rogare quænam essent aliorum de ea re sententiæ ac opiniones. Idcirco etiam satis fuit Christo, Petrum fuisse locutum, ac quid de fide sentiendum esset clavum fixisse. [Quin et laudavit sententiam ejus eamque non esse habendam ut communem vel vulgarem aut ex sensibus humanis depromptam, sed divinitus a Deo Patre illi per Spiritum sanctum infusam cæteris audientibus, patefecit.]—Eccl. Ann., ad an. 33. n. 17. [tom. i. pp. 129, 130.]

SECT. XI.

15. It is strange what submissions learned men are forced to that are resolved to serve their hypothesis. I shall only demand why the very next parcel of discourse betwixt Christ and His disciples, wherein again St. Peter was the only speaker, was not as signal a type of celebrating a council as the former? And yet there, in two very eminent branches of the Christian faith, the passion and resurrection of Christ, the same St. Peter, whose successor the pope pretends to be, differed in opinion from Christ Himself, "took Him and began to rebuke Him," and sure delivered a very uncatholic sentence, no other than the denial of both of those grand articles, not only in words of aversion, which are not enunciative, the "far be it from Thee, Lord," but even in plain form of definition or decree, *οὐ μὴ ἔσται σοι τοῦτο*, "this shall not be unto Thee." Mat. xvi. 21—23.

16. What Christ there returns unto him, that he was an offence unto Him, and "savoured not the things of God," but "those that were of men," may well serve for conclusion of this matter, that in an assembly where Christ Himself was present, St. Peter, and so his pretended successor, may, if he be not very careful to adhere to the word of Christ, fall into error also, but is not in any reason then to be deemed the representative of the whole Church.

17. This institution of councils in the Church of Christ the great cardinal had so fancied, that afterward he refers the original of them not to the Apostles' synod at Jerusalem, but by all means to this of Christ asking His disciples, "Whom say men that I am?" Only the unhappiness of it was, he had there forgotten the principal thing which had recommended this pattern unto him, St. Peter's peculiar privilege, *ut sententiam ipse definiat*, for there he is pleased to resolve on another form, viz., that every father's suffrage should be asked, and the decree made in an holy and canonical manner, by the common votes of all[s], and not only of

[s] [At quod ad hujusmodi conventus Apostolicos pertinet: satis superque exploratum habetur, Apostolorum exemplo laudatissimum antiquum illum usum in ecclesia catholica inviolabilem permansisse ut cum quid ad fidem, vel ad bonos mores et disciplinam ecclesiasticam pertinens consultandum esset,] in unum patres coirent, sicque simul collectis, singulorum sententia rogaretur, ac denique quid ab omnibus servandum esset, sancte ac legitime communibus suffragiis firmaretur. [Verum] si quis ejus rei ipsum exordium repetat, inveniet non tam ab apostolis, quam ab ipso Christo duxisse principium, atque

CHAP. V.

St. Peter; which I should hope concludes it his opinion that the former course of *definiat ipse* was neither legal nor holy.

[Anastasius' third argument for the universality of the eighth council.]

18. His third argument for the universality of this council is because "seeing Photius had by his so many excesses blotted the universal Church, an universal cure was used, that all might be cured where all was blemished[t]." But sure there is little force in this argument, which renders a reason why it was so, but doth not offer at any evidence that so it was, and is founded in a supposition that the cure, as the disease, was universal, which was the thing he should have proved. And even for the universality of the disease we have here no further offer of proof, but only that soon after Photius' ascending from the senate to the patriarchate one Solomon, a laic, was made bishop of Jerusalem. And some laics of Constantinople lived virtuous lives, only, as he will have it supposed, that thereby they might aspire to the patriarchate, both which might be allowed to be true, and yet this eighth council of a hundred and two bishops be far from being thereby concluded to have been a general council.

19. The short is, Anastasius Bibliothecarius, who was, as he saith, present at this council, and so may be allowed to have kindness to it, doth also dedicate his history of it to Pope Adrian, who was the principal actor in it, and a bitter enemy to Photius. And then his authority in this matter will be of as little weight as his arguments have appeared to be, even no more than a testimony given to an interested person by a very partial friend and party.

20. If there were force in such witnesses, there would be as much credit due to Photius himself, desiring Theodosius not to wonder that "profane persons sit superciliously in judicature, and the illustrious high-priests of God

sumpsisse authoritatem, quando scilicet [ut diximus suo loco superius de summa rerum Christus agens suos rogavit quem dicerent homines esse filium hominis. Sic igitur tam Domini exemplo, quam etiam apostolorum frequentiori usu, ejusmodi cogendi conventus, quibus quæ essent agenda tractarentur, mansit stabilita atque firmata consuetudo in ecclesia, quæ ejusmodi conventus usitatiori vocabulo consuevit nominare concilia.—Ann. Eccl., ad an. 58. n. 119. tom. i. p. 564.]

[t] Cum Photius tot excessuum suorum morbo universalem ecclesiam maculaverit, universalis curatio adhibita est, ut totum curaretur quod totum fuerat maculatum.—Concil., tom. vi. p. 706.

are convented before them, that they judge who are themselves condemned[u],"—for so was Ignatius the deposed, but now restored patriarch,—but that "the innocent were judged being encompassed with swords, lest they should dare offer to speak any thing in their own defence," giving him ancient examples of the like judicatures, that of Annas and Caiaphas, and Pilate and the Sanhedrim, by whom Christ was condemned; and so also Stephen and James, the bishops of Jerusalem, and Paul. And so in many other passages of his epistles, which demonstrate him to have been another manner of man than Baronius[x] pretends him.

21. But I need not such fallible testimonies as these to confirm the point in hand, that one of Marcus in the council of Florence contested to Cardinal Julian, and not denied by him, is sufficient.

22. And it was but necessary wisdom in Binius,—that knew it well, and could not but discern what a just prejudice it was to the universal reception of this council,—that he purposely omitted to give us any story of that council, as of others he accustomed to do, discreetly designing Anastasius' Preface to Pope Adrian to supply, as he saith[y], the place of it. For as Anastasius would not probably reveal this secret, nor could foresee what Marcus would say in the council of Florence, so Binius, that published one as well as the other, could neither be ignorant, nor yet with any safety take notice of it, there being no possible way left but this of silence to salve this objection, or support the reputation

[u] *τί θαυμάζεις, εἰ προκάθητο μὲν ἐξοφρυώμενον τὸ ἀνίερον, παρίστατο δὲ τῶν Ἀρχιερέων θεοῦ τὸ ἐπίσημον, καὶ κρίνειν μὲν ἐλέγετο τὸ κατάκριτον; κατεδικάζετο δὲ ξίφεσι περιεστοιχισμένον, ὕπερ τοῦ μηδὲ φωνὴν ἀφεῖναι, τὸ ἀνεύθυνον.*—Ep. 117. [p. 158.]

[x] [Hactenus Photii epistola ad Basilium Imperatorem quem quidem cum primum ars, tum fecit necessitas eloquentem, licet magis necessaria ad persuadendum ea oratio parte caruerit, quam exhibere non potuit, nimirum ut demonstraret se pati innocentem, cum alioqui talia tantaque admissa potuissent esse piacula quibus eæ quas pateretur leviores videri poterant esse pœnæ. Sic igitur cum de innocentia præmissa sit excusatio nulla, nullius esse roboris fecit orationem quæ in reliquis succincta fortibus enthymematibus audere posset appetere Imperatorem.—Ann. Eccl.] ad an. 871. n. 24. [tom. x. p. 464.]

[y] Non proponitur; ut in aliis factum historia octavi concilii quod eam Anastasii præfatio complectatur [qui et eidem concilio ut ipse testatur interfuit. Ac propterea Anastasii versio cum ejusdem Scholiis hoc loco præcedit sine Græco contextu, quia Græca synodus octava quæ extat hanc Anastasii versionem quippe prolixiorem non exæquabat. Ergo hanc ejusdem Anastasii veterem interpretationem Græca deinceps consequetur editio, cum nova versione nuper recognita quæ illi respondet.]—Concil., tom. vi. p. 702.

CHAP. V. or universality of that council, which was so nearly concerned in it.

SECT. 12.

OF THE REST OF THE COUNCILS WHICH THE ROMANISTS CALL GENERAL; PARTICULARLY THAT OF TRENT.

[Reasons for not accepting the later councils,]

1. I shall not now, as I said, need to descend to a view of the other councils by the Romanists styled œcumenical, or defend our practice in not accepting them as such. And that for these few, among many reasons:

2. First, because, as we said, the pope's profession, which must in reason be supposed to extend to the whole faith, to every part of apostolical tradition duly testified, yet doth not extend to all these, or to any more than eight of them.

3. Secondly, because those parts of them which agree not with their pretensions are freely and universally disallowed by them, as is notorious by the instances of the council of Constance, and of Basil,—and even of the fourth great council, that of Chalcedon,—each styled in their collections œcumenical councils, and yet each *ex parte reprobatum*, "in part rejected and reprobated;" and then why may not the Greek Church by the same law reject the council of Florence, and both the Gallican Church and ours the council of Trent, if we find it not a faithful reporter of tradition apostolical?

4. Thirdly, because whenever any council hath by them been thought to fail, they have made no scruple to affirm it was not a lawful council.

5. Thus we know it was in that at Ariminum, where, as St. Jerome saith[z], the "whole world almost admired to see itself become Arian," and yet this I hope hath no authority with them.

6. So likewise the second council of Ephesus, though it were general, though honoured with the presence of all the five patriarchs[a], four in person, the fifth by his proxy, and

[z] [Cœperunt postea Valens et Ursacius cæterique nequitiæ eorum socii egregii videlicet Christi sacerdotes, palmas suas jactitare, dicentes se Filium non creaturam negasse, sed similem cæteris creaturis. Tunc usiæ nomen abolitum est; tunc Nicenæ fidei damnatio conclamata est. Ingemuit totus orbis et Arianum se esse miratus est.]—Dial. adv. Luciferianos. [tom. iv. p. 300.]

[a] Vide act. i. Concil. i. Chalced.—Concil., tom. iii. p. 61.

pertinaciously maintained by the Emperor Theodosius[b], yet because it confirmed Eutyches' doctrine, it is justly rejected by them. SECT. XII.

7. And then why may not the same reason hold for us, and authorize our questioning the legitimacy of those councils, whose decrees with reason we allow not? nor discern any testimony of the truth of their doctrine, or delivery from the Apostles?

8. Fourthly, because in the council of Trent the popes themselves, as many as lived in the time thereof, would never consent, though it were earnestly desired of them, that that council should be affirmed to represent the universal Church; foreseeing prudently that if that were granted,—as in the council of Constance it was, to the pope's cost,—the council, being the whole, would put off its subjection, and depend no longer on him that was but a part of it. From whence I conceive this dilemma must have irresistible force in it, *ad hominem*, being produced to a Romanist. [and in particular that of Trent,]

9. Either the general council before the papal confirmation is the representative of the whole Church, or it is not. If it be the representative of the whole, then it needs not the confirmation of the pope to render it what it was before. And again, whensoever the pope hath refused to confirm the decrees of any such, I must in charity to him suppose that those decrees have been erroneous, and as such repudiated by him, and then the universal Church representative may err. And then who can have any security in believing or relying on it?

10. But if it be not the representative of the whole Church, then is not the testimony of an œcumenical council the testimony of the whole Church, nor consequently qualified for any belief upon that score of universality.

11. Having given the Romanist this account, which he hath obliged himself not to dislike, of our not obliging ourselves to the belief of all those councils which he calls general, I shall not need add what hath been so fully done by others, the many eminent nullities of some of them, espe- [as wanting the approbation of the Christian world.]

[b] ὁ δὲ Θεοδόσιος ἀντέγραψεν αὐτῷ (imperatori Valentiniano) λέγων, ὅτι οὐ ποιῶ ἀλλὴν σύνοδον, καλῶς γὰρ ἔκρινεν ὁ Διόσκορος.—Leontius, de Sect. Act. iv. p. 511, A. [ap. Galland., tom. xii. p. 639.]

CHAP. V.

cially of that of Trent, which is most magisterially imposed upon us.

12. The matter is clear there can be no colour of pretence that that was an œcumenical council. It had not sure at the time that integrity of the five senses which Anastasius told us of, nor yet after it was promulgate the approbation and reception of the whole Christian world, not of the eastern Church, nor in the west of the Gallican and Britannic, and many others. And then how can it be any universal testifier of apostolic tradition, or in any other capacity bind all to the embracing of it?

13. This, therefore, is the one, but that very sufficient, prejudice to a council pretending to deliver to us apostolic traditions and matters of faith, and exacting them to be received as such, that it is not indeed what it pretends to be, an universal council; and consequently that it is not duly qualified by Vincentius' rules to give a valid testimony of matters of faith or doctrines truly Christian. To which it is but proportionable and regular that we that embrace and uniformly accept all apostolical tradition, sufficiently, i. e. universally testified to be such, do not think ourselves obliged to receive that which is not thus testified.

14. If, therefore, as hath hitherto appeared, heresy be to be thus defined by the opposition to the faith of Christ, sufficiently revealed and testified to us, if universality be one qualification of the testifier, and if the Romanists' œcumenical councils do evidently fail of that universality, then cannot our non-reception of all their councils, thus evidenced not to be universal, or of those their doctrines which have no other surer basis than that of the definitions of those councils, be any way competent to charge or affix the note of heresy upon us.

15. Nay, on the contrary, we that never disbelieved any word of God, written or unwritten,—by any means made known to us to be such,—particularly never questioned any voice or testimony of the whole Church concerning such word, but are ready to believe that to be apostolical which shall be to us universally testified to come from the Apostles, and persuade ourselves that God will never permit any such universal testimony concerning the faith to conspire in con-

veying error to us; and upon the strength of that persuasion, as we have never yet opposed any universal council, nor other voice of the whole Church, such as by the Catholic rules can be contested to be such, so for the future we profess never to do, are by our grounds thus far secured from all heretical pravity, that unless we destroy in the retail what we have built in the gross, and until we shall be proved by the particular view of our doctrines to have thus failed in some particulars, we cannot with any justice, or without great uncharitableness, be accused of it. SECT. XII.

SECT. 13.

OF THE INERRABILITY OF A GENERAL COUNCIL. THAT IT IS NO MATTER OF FAITH.

1. Of the last part of this our profession it is now meet that I add some few words, viz., what our opinion is of the inerrability of a general council, truly so called, and qualified as hath been formerly described.

2. And 1, we have learned to distinguish between theological verity and Catholic faith: some things we believe to be true which yet pretend not to be any part of that necessary fundamental doctrine which was once delivered unto the saints, but are offered to our belief upon grounds of reason, which, *supposita fide*, carry great weight of probability with them, for which yet we neither have nor pretend any divine revelation. And such I conceive this proposition to be, "a general council cannot or shall not err." For that this is no where either affirmed by the word of God written or unwritten, or regularly deduced from thence, may easily appear by a view of the very few places which are by the Romanist pretended to conclude it. [Distinction between theological verity and Christian faith.]

3. First, those words of Christ are pretended for it, "where two or three are gathered together in My name, there I will be in the midst of them." But 1. those words do not in any peculiarity belong to councils convened to define, but more generally to any assemblies that come together to hear or pray to God, or more particularly in that place to excommunicate an offender. 2. If they belong to councils they would equally belong to the most particular as to the most œcume- Matt. xviii. 20. [The inerrability of a general council not concluded from the passages usually adduced,]

CHAP. V.

nical council, for none can be more distant from Catholic than that where no more than two or three are met together. 3. That text belongs only to those assemblies which are truly convened in God's name, with hearts sincerely bent to the honouring of Him; whereas many assemblies among men have been, and still may be convened with mixtures of worldly and carnal interest, and then no part of the promised presence belongs to them. 4. Christ may by His power and illumination, and even directive grace be present, and in the midst of those who yet through the corruption, and blindness, and obstinacy of their own hearts, do not make use of His guidance to the finding out of truth, but oft resist the conviction and light which is offered them by Christ. And so there is not the least colour of force in that argument.

4. Secondly, that place is produced out of John xvi. 13, that "when the Spirit of truth is come He will guide them into all truth;" and again, that "He shall abide with them for ever." But neither hath that any propriety to general, or indeed to any kind of councils. Every particular Christian, since the descent of the Holy Ghost, is as much rendered infallible by these texts as any the most numerous assembly; for to each of those this promise made to the Apostles is as regularly applicable as to any of these. And the matter is notorious, that before there was ever any œcumenical council in the world the Church of God was led into all truth; the greatest foundations of faith being by the Apostles' preaching, from the very first plantation, long before the council of Nice, deposited in every Church.

5. Thirdly, they produce the form of the conciliar decretal epistle, "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us." But that can be of no force in this matter: 1. Because the Apostles, that certainly did not err, and were so assisted by the Spirit that they should not err in the discharge of their office apostolical, can be no precedent to every or any other human assembly. 2. Because this decree of theirs belonging to matters of practice, not of belief, that form of it can no further be imitable to other councils than that in like matters of practice, such are rites, and ceremonies, and usages in a Church, they assume authority of defining and commanding, and deem that backed by the Holy Ghost, who hath

Acts xv. 28.

given them their authority; but in matters of faith they must have nothing from themselves. And accordingly this hath been the practice in the Church, as hath formerly appeared from Athanasius[c], to prefix to their canons of order and rites this form, *visum est*, "it seemed good to us," or ἔδοξε τὰ ὑποτεταγμένα, "these things seemed good to us;" but for matters of faith, οὕτως πιστεύει ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία, so the "Catholic Church believes;" neither inserting mention of their own judgment, nor yet pretending to any other revelation from the Holy Ghost than what was from the beginning found to have been in the Church. To which purpose also was, I suppose, the second versicle in the doxology,—the orthodoxal form of acknowledging the Trinity,—*sicut erat in principio*, "as it was in the beginning," as it stood by original tradition apostolical, "is now and ever shall be world without end." No new doctrine ever to be brought into the Church by whatsoever council, but only that which the Apostles had delivered. SECT. XIII.

6. Fourthly, some places they bring and apply to councils which the Scripture delivers only of the Church in general, as that the "gates of hell shall not prevail against it," which can no way belong to this matter, unless all the members of the Church were met together in that council; for if there be any left out, why may not the promise be good in them, though the gates of hell should be affirmed to prevail against the council. The first Nicene was by the acknowledgment of all an œcumenical council, yet was not the whole Church of God convened in that assembly. In case all the three hundred and eighteen bishops which were there assembled had in one minute been taken up to heaven, or by any violence of the Arian party massacred, could it with any truth be said that the whole Church of God had then been destroyed? Infallibly it could not; and no more could it be said, in case a major part of them had agreed in any error, that the πύλαι ἅδου, the 'power' or 'gates of hell,' or death, or destruction had prevailed against them; because as it is clear there were many thousands of bishops and presbyters, many millions of brethren or believing Christians, without the walls of that council, which had not been involved in that error. [Matt. xvi. 18.]

[c] [Vide sect. 9. p. 353.]

CHAP. V.

And indeed the very supposal that the council assembled represents the Church diffusive, and was never entrusted by them to define any error at their convention, is an evidence that there is without the doors of that council an universal, which those few there present were designed to represent. And those that have given their proxies for certain uses, are not imagined so to have put their lives or souls in the hands of those proxies as that by the death of the proxies they shall be supposed to die also.

7. And as there is no evidence from the written word of God whereon this may be grounded as a matter of faith, that a general council cannot err, so neither is there any part of the Apostles' *depositum* entrusted to the Church from which the conclusion can with any semblance of reason be inferred, or that is by any Romanist that I know of made use of to that purpose.

[nor from their annexing anathemas to their definitions.]

8. The main thing that is pretended is the conciliar practice and custom of annexing anathemas to their definitions, which it were not reasonable for them to do if they did not verily believe their definitions were infallibly true. But to this the answer is obvious. 1. That they may think themselves infallible which are not, and so their own belief is not argumentative. 2. That they that knowing themselves fallible do yet persuade themselves that they have successfully sought out and found the truth in some particular, may think it useful to propagate this truth to all their flock, and secure the peaceable possession of that doctrine by denunciation of censures ecclesiastical; and that is the meaning of anathemas. 3. It is supposable that in this or that doctrine the council hath had so clear a discovery,—viz., from the uniform consentient testimony of all Churches with which they have consulted,—that they do find reason verily to believe that that particular definition is tradition apostolical. And so in that they may define dogmatically, not from any opinion of their own universal inerrableness, but from a duly grounded persuasion that for this time they are in the right. Lastly, it may well be noted as an excess in many later councils to be thus forward with their anathemas, or to affix them to any other their definitions but such as are undoubted branches of that apostolical doctrine which was preached to

all, δόγματα εὐσεβείας[d] in the Apostles' thirty-seventh canon, the disbelief whereof may obstruct or hinder good life here and salvation hereafter. SECT. XIII.

SECT. 14.

THAT IT IS ONE OF THE PIE CREDIBILIA, THAT A GENERAL COUNCIL SHALL NOT ERR.

1. This then of the inerrableness of general councils being thus far evidenced to be no matter of faith, because not founded in any part of Scripture or tradition,—nor consequently the contrary any matter of heresy,—the utmost that can be said of it is, that it is a theological verity, which may piously be believed.

2. And so I doubt not to pronounce of it, that if we consider God's great, and wise, and constant providence and care over His Church, His desire that all men should be saved, and in order to that end come to the knowledge of all necessary truth, His promise that He will not suffer His faithful servants to be tempted above what they are able, nor permit scandals and false teachers to prevail to the seducing of the very elect, His most pious, godly servants; if, I say, we consider these and some other such like general promises of Scripture, wherein this question seems to be concerned, we shall have reason to believe that God will never suffer all Christians to fall into such a temptation as it must be, in case the whole Church representative should err in matters of faith, by way of *ellipsis*,—define against, or leave out of their creed any article of that body of *credenda* which the Apostles delivered to the Church,—and therein find approbation and reception among all those bishops and doctors of the Church diffused which were out of the council.

3. And though in this case the Church might remain a Church,—and so the destructive gates of Hades not prevail against it,—and still retain all parts of the Apostles' *depositum* in the hearts of some faithful Christians, which had no power in the council to oppose the decree, or out of it to resist the general approbation, yet still the testimony of such

[d] [See note p, page 340.]

CHAP. V.

a general council so received and approved would be a very strong argument, and so a very dangerous temptation to every the most meek and pious Christian, and it is piously to be believed, though not infallibly certain, (for who knows what the provocations of the Christian world, of the pastors, or the flock, may arrive to, like the violence of the old world, that brought down the deluge upon them?) that God will not permit His servants to fall into that temptation.

SECT. 15.

A RECAPITULATION AND CONCLUSION OF THIS MATTER CONCERNING HERESY.

[The Church of England secured from the charge of heresy.]

1. It is time now to draw to a conclusion of this whole matter, and from the premises to complete and abbreviate that plea, which will, I doubt not, secure the Church of England from all colourable charge of heresy. For that

2. First, it confessedly receives the whole word of Christ, the entire canon of the New Testament.

3. Secondly, it retains entire the symbol of the apostolic faith, as that was delivered to the Churches in all the apostolic plantations.

4. Thirdly, it understands both Scripture and creed, according to that traditive interpretation which the first four, or if you will six, or indeed any of the œcumenical councils truly so called, have discovered and declared to be the sense of all the apostolic Churches in the world, and were universally received by all Churches in such their declaration.

5. Fourthly, that we never rejected any Catholic testimony,—offered in behalf of any doctrine,—nor council, but such as even our enemies grant, or evidence of the matter proclaims, not to have been œcumenical.

6. Fifthly, that we do not believe that any general council, truly such, ever did or shall err in any matter of faith; nor shall we further dispute the authority when we shall be duly satisfied of the universality of any such.

7. Lastly, that we are willing to proceed and enlarge all this from the Church collected in a council to the Church diffused, or the principal pastors thereof out of council, and

are ready to receive and acknowledge as doctrine of faith every proposition which the fathers that lived in any competent distance from the Apostles do uniformly, or without any considerable dissent, deliver down to us as the truths of God, traditions apostolical.

8. Herein I may not now fitly enlarge, by proceeding to a view and defence of all, or any such particular doctrines, nor indeed can I, without the spirit of divination, not knowing what one doctrine, denied by us, any Romanist will assume to assert upon these terms,—contest by these measures of universality, antiquity, and consent,—to be apostolical tradition.

[The authority of the Roman Church]

9. As for the authority of the present Roman Church, which is by them so much insisted on, as we cannot deem that sufficient to impose upon all Christians any new book of Scripture, so neither can we, by force of any Catholic rules, such as Vincentius is confessed to have furnished us with sufficiently, receive from that sole testimony of theirs,—which is but the testimony of one part and of one age of the Church, and not of the universal Church of all ages,—any part of Christian doctrine, though by them never so earnestly contested to be apostolical.

[to be judged of by appeal to testimony truly universal.]

10. The sure way of judging aright in any particular debate must be by appealing to the fountains, apostolical, original doctrine, and tradition, and for that to those that are competent testifiers in the matter, to councils universally received, or to such other testimony as is truly universal. And as by this one test we profess to deal with every adversary of the faith whom we shall dare thus to accuse, and not to deem any person an heretic whom we cannot demonstrate to be such by this sure *κριτήριον*,—and therefore are not forward to judge every Romanist to be such who maintains the whole faith, and errs only in his superaddition,—so we are most willing to submit to this way of judgment ourselves; and whatsoever we shall be convinced to be disagreeable thereto we shall most willingly and explicitly renounce, for the glory of God, and for the restoring of the peace of the Church, and do so already implicitly, by binding ourselves to be judged and concluded by these rules, by unfeigned prayer to God for His light and guidance in His path, and

CHAP. V.

by exacting of all Christians in the world that fraternal debt of necessary charity to our souls in admonishing us, either 1. What particular there is maintained by our Church which is not found to have truth; or 2. What disbelieved, which is able to approve itself, being judged by these rules; or 3. What is defective in these rules, in order to our judging aright, what is by a Christian to be believed or embraced as *de fide*, and so as the disbelieving thereof will be chargeable upon him.

[The Church of Rome urgent in condemning us.]

11. And if, after all this, and without the charity of any such admonition, we shall still by unrelenting adversaries be censured and condemned as heretics,—and upon that account cast out as refuse branches and unchurched members, and so that unity and communion which Christ hath commanded to continue among His disciples, become unattainable by us,—herein we complain of great unkindness and injustice in the Church of Rome, and in those that join and adhere to her in that sentence, which by papal bull was long since sent out against us; and upon these premised grounds we resolve still to retain that degree of charity to our most implacable enemies as to pray for them, and to admonish them of the eminent danger of their uncharitableness, in case those hindrances be not upon due judgment removed on their part, which obstruct the union and peace of Christendom. It being most unreasonable that among them which communicate in every branch of the one apostolical faith that sacred band should yet be violated, upon vain and empty pretences of diversities of opinion or usages in such matters, which are far removed from the great foundation of apostolical doctrines and practices, or which are not sufficiently testified to come from them who yet are justly presumable to have delivered carefully, and appointed the Church to preserve faithfully through all ages, all those things which are fundamentally necessary for a Christian to believe or practise to his soul's health.

[Eph. ii. 14.]

12. If reason herein will not be heard, to the repairing of breaches and demolishing the μεσότοιχον φράγμου, that sept or wall of separation, which was once in the temple set up betwixt Jews and gentile worshippers, but received its decretory sentence in the death of Christ, never to be re-

edified among Christians; if that enmity that was nailed to His cross must be revived, and quickened to a life immortal among His members; if whilst we faithfully retain the whole faith of Christ, we must still be looked on as traditors and mutilators of it; it will yet be manifest to all that consider the premises, that this is to be numbered among our calamities, not our guilts, that the darts of the tongue were not directed at us with any special aim or judgment—we might have been called magicians as well, and so banished out of Rome upon the old edict, *contra Mathematicos*[d], with as much propriety as upon the new, *contra Hæreticos*,—and in fine, that the objection hath received its answer according to the utmost improvement of which it is capable, whether as the low ebb of our present persecuted estate, or as our pretended departure from the Catholic faith is, or can, with any colour of reason, be suggested to have unchurched us. SECT. XV.

CHAP. VI.

A THIRD DIFFICULTY, RAISED FROM ACTS iv. 19, AND 1 COR. ix. 16, SATISFIED.

1. AFTER this so large a survey of those two sorts of objections from others, there remains a third, which our own breasts are ready to suggest by way of scruple; whether the words of St. Peter and St. John, and of St. Paul, be not of some force to lay obligation on us ministers of the gospel at this time, and how we shall quit ourselves of that obligation. Acts iv. 19. 1 Cor. ix. 16.

2. In the former text, when the Sanhedrim called those Apostles, and commanded them "not to speak at all, nor to teach," their answer is in these words, "Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye; for we cannot but speak..." Where sure the phrases of "hearkening unto God," "obeying Him," and "we cannot but speak"—noted an obligation lying upon them from God to speak and to teach, such as no countermand from the Sanhedrim could take off from them. ver. 6, 15. ver. 18.

3. And so in the latter text a necessity is acknowledged

[d] [Vide Tac. Ann. ii. 32; xii. 52; Hist. ii. 62.]

CHAP. VI.

by St. Paul to lie upon him, a moral necessity, and that sure denotes an obligation, and "woe is unto him, if he preach not the gospel."

[Difference in the case of the Apostles and those under this interdict.]

4. For the answering of this, some of the many differences must be observed, which at first sight offer themselves, betwixt the condition of the Apostles then, and those now, which are under this interdict. A first difference may be discerned in respect of the matter of their preaching, which was then so indispensably required of the Apostles: what that was, will appear by the commission given to the eleven, "Go therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you." As for St. Paul, though he were none of this number, yet his assumption to the office apostolical, expressed by his being a "chosen vessel unto Christ, to bear His name before the gentiles and kings," and the command of the Holy Ghost, to "separate him to that work," did doubtless bind the same bands on him, and so this same engagement of publishing the Christian doctrine through all the world to those that were ignorant of it, of receiving proselytes, all that should come into that faith of Christ, and of building them up in it.

Matt. xxviii. 19.

Acts ix. 15.

Acts xiii. 2.

5. Here then to those as to a select number of שליחים, Apostles, or proxies of Christ on earth, was a commission given, and therein a command to publish the gospel over all the world; and had they neglected it willingly, or by any terrors been affrighted from it, that message, which Christ came in so stupendous a manner from heaven to publish, had consequently never been revealed to the world, and then this so precious talent deposited with them, being thus laid up unoccupied, would have brought on them regularly the guilt and woe of wicked as well as unprofitable servants. And this is the ground of that obligation that lay on them, and is expressed in those two texts in the objection.

6. But the bishops of our Church, and the inferior officers, the presbyters under them, though they are in some degree the proxies of those proxies, the successors of those Apostles, yet the commission to go and preach belongs not to them in the same extent as it did to the Apostles, nor to all the same

purposes: our commission is limited, and so the obligation incumbent on us is limited also.

7. The gospel being long ago by the Apostles' travels solemnly preached over all the world, and either received by faith, or rejected by obstinacy, or cast off by apostacy, there was a period and conclusion of those travels, their doctrine being deposited in all their plantations, and in the written word consigned for the perpetual uses of the Churches, it was no longer incumbent *ex officio* on every spiritual person to trace all the steps of those that thus travelled for the first planting them. It is sure the Indies and Chinas are none of our province now, though they once were of some of the Apostles.

8. Nay, even in those first times we read of some whom they fixed in settled stations, *παρακαλοῦντες προσμεῖναι*, 'appointing them to abide,' and *καταλείποντες*, 'leaving them' in such or such a province, beyond which they were not obliged to journey, but as the same Apostles directed them upon emergent occasions. 1 Tim. i. 3; Tit. i. 5.

9. Nay, the Apostles themselves at length made an end of their travels, sat down, St. John at Ephesus, St. Peter at Rome. And after them, in the words of the fifteenth and sixteenth canons apostolical[e], it was soon forbidden that any man should *ἑτέρᾳ παροικίᾳ ἐπιπηδᾶν*, or *ἀπελθεῖν*, 'go or meddle' beyond his own line, move out of that circle wherein he was fixed. And yet certainly obedience to those canons, though not written by the Apostles, but by the first bishops, apostolical men, and so, in the words of that text wherein the objection is founded, a 'hearkening unto men' will never be deemed an offending or 'sinning against God:' if it were, all order and unity would soon be banished out of the Church,

[e] [*ἐπίσκοπον μὴ ἐξεῖναι καταλείψαντα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παροικίαν ἑτέρᾳ ἐπιπηδᾶν κἂν ὑπὸ πλειόνων ἀναγκάζηται· εἰ μή τις εὔλογος αἰτία ᾖ, ἡ τοῦτο βιαζομένη αὐτὸν ποιῆσαι, ὡς πλεῖόν τι κέρδος δυναμένου αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἐκεῖσε λόγῳ εὐσεβείας συμβάλλεσθαι· καὶ τοῦτο δὲ, οὐκ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ, ἀλλὰ κρίσει πολλῶν ἐπισκόπων, καὶ παρακλήσει μεγίστῃ.*—Can. Apost. xi.

εἴ τις πρεσβύτερος ἢ διάκονος ἢ ὅλως τοῦ καταλόγου τῶν κληρικῶν ἀπολείψας τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παροικίαν, εἰς ἑτέραν ἀπέλθῃ καὶ παντελῶς μεταστὰς διατρίβῃ ἐν ἄλλῃ παροικίᾳ παρὰ γνώμην τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου· τοῦτον κελεύομεν μηκέτι λειτουργεῖν, εἰ μάλιστα προσκαλουμένου αὐτὸν ἐπανελθεῖν ἐπισκόπου, οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν, ἐπιμένων τῇ ἀταξίᾳ· ὡς λαϊκὸς μέντοι ἐκεῖσε κοινωνείτω· εἰ δὲ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος παρ' ᾧ τυγχάνουσιν, παρ' οὐδὲν ἡγησάμενος τὴν κατ' αὐτῶν ὁρισθεῖσαν ἀργίαν, δέξηται αὐτοὺς ὡς κληρικοὺς, ἀφορίζεσθω ὡς διδάσκαλος ἀταξίας.—Can. Apost. xii.]

CHAP. VI.

as by this ἀλλοτριοεπισκοπία we see it in some Churches at this time.

[The first difference.]

10. Here then is a first difference in respect of the matter of their preaching, and their immediate mission to that work, which brought the *væ si non;* they were by Christ obliged to promulgate the gospel; we that are come into their labours, where it is promulgated already, are not under the same causes, and so neither under the same strictness of that obligation. The engagements that now lie upon us arise from some other heads, the designations and trusts of our superiors in the Church, the wants of the flock over whom we are placed, or the opportunities of charity which offer themselves to us, but not the 'preceptive commission' of Christ of going and preaching the faith to all nations.

[An objection against it]

[Acts i. 22.]

11. But if this were the entire answer some further objection would lie against it. For the Apostles' task being not only that of "witnessing the resurrection of Christ," and so the whole Christian religion confirmed by it, but particularly that of calling unreformed sinners to repentance,—as we see their sermons summed up in the Gospel, as John Baptist's and Christ's also were, "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand,"—it is obvious thus to enforce the former argument, that the sins of these nations, and our impenitent continuance therein are sufficient to remove this difference; there is now as much need of sermons of repentance as there was then of preaching the faith of Christ; and why then should not the obligation lie as indispensably upon us as it then did upon the Apostles?

[Matt. iii. 1.]

[answered.]

12. To this objection the answer must be, not by denying the truth of the suggestion in either of the premises, for it is certain that was the style of the Baptist's, of Christ's, of the disciples', and so afterwards of the Apostles' preaching; and it is indeed hard to conceive how or when there should be greater need of preaching reformation, and of employing all our spiritual artillery, the keenest weapons of our warfare for the demolishing of strongholds, of bringing down obdurate hearts to the obedience of Christ, than there is most visibly in these nations at this time; but by examining the force of the consequence, which from thence infers the necessity of our withstanding the present interdict, and continu-

ing to preach. That this consequence is most irregular soon appears by survey of the premises, which neither severally nor jointly have power thus to infer, or to make up any regular syllogism, of which this shall be the conclusion. The fairest syllogism that the matter is capable of will be this. The Apostles, by Christ's command, preached repentance to impenitent sinners; but the people of this nation are impenitent sinners, therefore the ministers here are obliged not to give over preaching, whatever interdict or menace of violence restrain them from it. But this is far from a regular syllogism, not capable of being reformed or reduced to any figure or mould of reasoning, artificial or inartificial, neither of the premises having any influence upon the conclusion, nor indeed connection within themselves. Christ's precept of preaching repentance to impenitent sinners, even then when it did oblige, did not oblige them never to intermit or give it over, whatsoever the consequences were. When they had preached, and were not received, but persecuted, they were allowed to leave such obstinate impenitents, to shake off their dust against them, and so to denounce judgments by departing from them, to preach most loudly by not preaching.

[The case of impenitence,]

13. And for impenitence, sure that lays not obligation where Christ's command had laid none, i. e. where it is obstinate against light and means of reformation. It was our Saviour's speech put by Him into the mouth of father Abraham, "They have Moses and the prophets, let them hear them: and if they hear not them, neither will they repent or be persuaded though one should come to them from the dead."

[Luke xvi. 31.]

14. When sins have been committed, and are gone on in for want of light, there preaching of repentance, and convincing the ignorant world of sin, is the gospel method, and be their sins the greatest in the world, and the most unnatural, such as the gentiles' were, yet God can ὑπεριδεῖν, so far 'look over,' or not see such rebellions, as to send out His heralds of peace, and command them "all every where to repent," yea, and sometimes to work miracles for the opening such men's eyes, who, as St. Paul saith of himself, being "blasphemers, persecutors, and injurious," yet are discerned

Acts xvii. 30.

CHAP. VI.

by Him that knows the secrets of hearts, to "do it ignorantly in unbelief."

1 Tim. i. 13.

15. But when it is not thus imputable to ignorance, but resistance of the light, to loving and coveting of darkness, to the scorners delighting in that trade, and the fools hating knowledge, it may then be seasonable with God, and not contrary to duty in man, to let them alone, no longer to importune them, who will not receive instruction.

Prov. i. 22. John iii. 19.

[and sins against light, may make it seasonable]

16. And this is too visibly the present condition of this people; our sins have not the apology or extenuation of ignorance, our deeds of darkness, that have clothed themselves in the thickest cloud and deepest secrecy, are of all others most unquestionably sins against light, and knowledge, and conscience. And our riots, and oaths, and perjuries, and profanations, in a word, all our sorts of pollutions both of flesh and spirit, are certainly such; and those are they that denominate us an impenitent people, on supposal of which the enforcement of that argument was founded.

Isa. xliii. 8. Acts xxviii. 27.

17. And to such "blind people that have eyes," which βλέποντες οὐ βλέπουσι, 'see very perfectly,' but will not perceive, that have steeled their foreheads against reproofs, it were but regular, and that which we learn from the Apostles' practice, as to shake off dust against them, so to mark and avoid, and not to have fellowship with such, much less to pursue them with the importunity of more sermons, but rather to forsake them, without being driven from them; there being no reason why they should hear, any more than preach God's word, take His covenant into their ears or mouths, who thus despise instructions, and hate to be reformed.

[to avoid and forsake persons who despise instruction.]

18. And if it be interposed, that sure all men and women among us are not to be put into this forlorn classis of hopeless impenitents, there being many thousands now, as in Elias' days, that are not engulfed in the corruptions of the times, I reply by a most willing, joyful confession, and only require it be remembered, that then there was no strength, as far as concerns these, in that enforcement of the argument which took rise only from the consideration of the un-

[1 Kings xix. 18.]

reformed impenitent sinners, which exacted our sermons of repentance. CHAP. VI.

19. As for those, then, that are in a middle and more improvable estate, to whom the exercise of our functions is, or probably may be, real charity; there I shall acknowledge the ministers of the word to lie under engagements, not such as arise from Christ's command to His Apostles, "to go and preach," wherein the objection was founded; but on other heads, especially those of charity, and ministering to the wants of souls. And though the example of Gregory Nazianzen[f], that great and pious bishop, might justify some other resolution, who in such evil times, being without any pretence of crime removed out of his bishopric, "resisted many importunities[g]," took his leave of the emperor, retired to Arianzum[h], and in rest and divine poesy ended his days; yet I shall not lay hold on that advantage, but in compliance with the interests of charity rather than with any other of any meaner allay, I shall deem this account most Christian, that we oblige ourselves never to be wanting to them that are thus capable in any duty of necessary charity, that no fear of men, or other worldly consideration, deter us from such performances, that whensoever our ministry be called for by the real and pressing wants of the meanest of Christ's little ones, like Crœsus' dumb son[i], in an important exigence we stretch the string of our tongues, rush through any obstacle, and resolve with the Apostle in the objection, "we cannot but speak." [The case of those who are improvable.] [Matt. xxviii. 19.] [Acts iv. 20.]

[f] So Narcissus, bishop of Jerusalem, famous for the miracle of turning water into oil (Euseb. Eccl. Hist., lib. vi. c. 9) in the vigils of Easter, being falsely accused by three men, each under an execration on themselves which accordingly befel them, *αὐτός* [*γε*] *μὴν τὴν τῶν εἰρημένων μηδαμῶς ὑπομένων μοχθηρίαν, καὶ ἄλλως ἐκ μακροῦ τὸν φιλόσοφον ἀσπαζόμενος βίον, διαδρὰς πᾶν τὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πλῆθος, ἐν ἐρημίαις καὶ ἀφάνεσιν ἀγροῖς λανθάνων πλείστοις ἔτεσι διέτριβεν.*

[g] *πολλοὶ* [*γοῦν*] *τοῦ λαοῦ* [*ἐκεῖσε*] *συνέρρεον δακρύοντες, ἱκετεύοντες, ἀντιβολοῦντες ἐλεῆσαι τὸ ποιμνίον, ὃ πόνοις τε καὶ ἱδρῶσι τοσούτοις ἐξέθρεψέ τε καὶ ἤυξησε· [δὸς τὴν χάριν, ἔλεγον, τοῖς σοῖς φιλτάτοις καὶ οἷς τὸ ἀκμαῖόν σου τῆς ζωῆς προαναλώσας ἡμῖν, δώρησαι καὶ τὸ λειπόμενον· ἵν' ἔχοιμεν λείψανον τὸ σὸν σῶμα, οἱ τῇ σῇ διδασκαλίᾳ πεφωτισμένοι.—S.] Greg. Naz. Vita, [p. clv.]*

[h] *[περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐμμέτρων .... διττὸς αὐτῷ γέγονεν ὁ σκοπός· πρῶτος μέν, ὅπως τὴν ἄθεσμον Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ τυράννου νομοθεσίαν μειρακιώδη καὶ ἀνίσχυρον ἀπελέγξῃ, κελεύουσαν μὴ μετεῖναι Χριστιανοῖς τῆς Ἑλλήνων παιδείας· δεύτερος δὲ, ἐπεὶ ἐώρα Ἀπολινάριον ῥάψαντα πολυστίχους βίβλους ἐκ διαφόρων μέτρων, καὶ τούτοις κλέψαντα τοὺς πολλοὺς εἰς τὴν αἵρεσιν, ὡς ἐλλόγιμον δῆθεν,] ἀναγκαῖον ὡήθη ἐν Ἀριάνζοις, μετὰ τὴν ὑποστροφὴν, καὶ σχολὴν ἄγων, οἷα πραγμάτων ἀπηλλαγμένος, [τηνικαῦτα] γράψαι τὰ ἔμμετρα.—*Ibid., p. clviii.

[i] [Vide Herod., lib. i. cap. 85.]

CHAP. VI.

20. So that still the resolution of conscience must be by levelling the particular case according to the rule or square that belongs to it, the command of our Great Master incumbent on us. And though that lay not obligation to preach, *ratione officii*, yet if it lay obligation of charity to minister to the necessities of any Christian's soul, in whatsoever instance, our love will prove very imperfect and maimed if it do not cast out fear, set about its work, whatsoever the dangers be. And so generally our direction must be not by that which is most safe, but most charitable; and by attending to that we shall have advanced a good step toward the solution of the difficulty.

[The second difference in the case of the Apostles and those under the interdict.]

21. But then, secondly, a further difference there is observable betwixt the Apostles' case and ours, in respect of the occasions and circumstances of delivering the words. For the words in St. Paul, it is evident they looked not on persecution, but only want of wages for his preaching, and the utmost importance of, or inference from his words is, that though he have no kind of subsistence from his auditors, no part of their offertory, yet he is, under a sad *væ si non*, obliged to preach to them. And then if we by any outward discouragements, the no reward for our labours, the not reaping of carnal things, be thus cooled in discharge of our duties, and dispensing our spiritual things, then are we with some reason to apprehend the *væ* denounced by St. Paul on this neglect, which that it cannot by analogy be extended to this other case of forcible interdict, appears by the express words of Christ even while He requires perseverance in His disciples, "When they persecute you in this city flee ye to another," and is exemplified by St. Paul.

ver. 13.

Matt. x. 23.

2 Cor. xi. [33.]

22. And though still the other example of St. Peter and John seem contrary, yet certainly that must be capable of such an interpretation as shall be reconcilable with these two, the express words of Christ, and practice of their fellow Apostle.

[The objection from the example of St. Peter and John answered.]

23. For sure there is some more than show of difficulty in this, how those two Apostles should be under a command of God, obliged not to give over preaching in Jerusalem, when they were thus interdicted and threatened by the Sanhedrim, as that signifies persecuted from that city, when yet

the disciples are allowed by Christ, in that case of persecution to remove to some other city, i. e. to obey that unchristian interdict so armed with force; and when Paul upon the like occasions professeth once to have been "let down by a basket," and by flight, and so preaching no longer in that city, to "have escaped their hands;" and at another time to have been for a time withheld, or kept from the Thessalonians, by the violent oppositions and interdicts of his adversaries; and what answer soever shall be thought satisfactory to this, will, I doubt not, be applicable to our present case.

2 Cor. xi. 33. 1 Thess. ii. 16—18.

24. For first, if the account should be that this was an heroical act of zeal in those two Apostles,—*παραβολεύεσθαι* and *ριψοκινδυνεῖν*, to imitate Christ so far as to adventure the utmost dangers for His sake,—yet not under divine precept, and so not part of strict duty, then that absolves us from being under such duty, and leaves it only an act of Christian magnanimity, when the circumstances of the action render it truly such, i. e. whensoever the great ends of charity may best be served by our preaching and suffering; and thus much is willingly acknowledged.

[Phil. ii. 30.]

25. But the truth is, this seems not to come home to St. Peter's words of "hearkening to God," and "we cannot but teach," which seem to suppose some command of God binding on their shoulders an indispensable necessity of doing what they did.

[Acts iv. 19, 20.]

26. Secondly then, if the answer be, that the threatening them at that time was visibly but an empty terror, being joined with a releasing them out of custody, and so but an expression of their dislikes, and their fear of them, rather than a persecuting them, and that in that case the duty of propagating the gospel, and beginning that at Jerusalem, was in full force incumbent on them at this time, *non obstante* the 'dispensation' granted them of flying when they were persecuted; then likewise will it be in force by analogy to us, that we should not be amazed by empty terrors, but pursue the discharge of our functions, as far as violence will permit us; not feigning mormoes to ourselves, or making the fancy or shadow of the lion in the way, the motive or excuse of our real sloth, or neglect of our callings.

ver. 3. 21.

Matt. x. 23.

CHAP. VI.

27. Or thirdly, if it be answered that that advice for flight in persecution was given to the disciples before their receiving their apostolical charge and commission, and so that these Apostles might be now under precept of not yielding to this violence, though the disciples were not; then again, though that will not be made good by any grounds of Scripture, nor prove reconcilable with the practice of St. Paul at Damascus, who was an Apostle also,—having already questionless his mission from heaven to that office,—yet will that be of use also to our present difficulty, for then all officers, howsoever entrusted by Christ, are not presently under the same obligations that St. Peter and those other Apostles were, and so their example is not further to be extended than other Scriptures, and examples, and the consideration of all circumstances give reason to extend it.

Matt. x. [23.] Matt. xxviii. [19.] John xx. [23.]

28. Of one of these two Apostles, St. John, the Scripture tells that he was at length banished to Patmos an island, "for the testimony of Jesus:" it was not certainly any fault, or but ἧττημα in him, that he did not resist this edict, but yield to that force which executed it upon him. And yet when he was there, we find not that he had opportunity for any office of his apostleship, save that of praying and communicating in the tribulations and patience of the kingdom of Christ, and receiving and writing of visions; and nothing contrary to duty in this, the violence that carried him to that island was his very reasonable account that he laboured not now in the word and gospel.

Rev. i. 9.

29. The like may be said of St. Chrysostom, twice banished from his patriarchate of Constantinople, and of many others in all evil times disseized of their chairs and functions, for no other cause, but as John, διὰ μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ, "for the testimony of Jesus," and their deprivations were one way of testifying of Christ, as their preaching had (and if they might have enjoyed that liberty, still would have) been another.

[The case of S. Chrysostom]

30. Some disparity there is indeed between these examples and the case which is now before us; John was actually transported to that island, and we are only interdicted under the penalty of the like transportation, which being yielded it yet must follow, that either the whole weight of the objec-

[compared with the present.]

tion must be founded in this disparity, or else that it will receive its full answer by this consideration.

31. This disparity, if it have any real weight in it, it must be on one of these two accounts; either, first, that what is now threatened ought not to be feared till it be present, and that this remoter fear is not *metus qui potest cadere in virum fortem,* such as is incident to a valiant man; or else, secondly, that those performances which will now actuate the threats, and bring that punishment upon us, are, or may probably be, of some considerable weight or benefit to the glory of God, or good of souls.

32. For the former of these; 1. That is not a question of duty, but of prudence, and so lays not obligation till the question of prudence be first stated. 2. For the prudential part, there are no grounds on which to establish that. It is not, without the spirit of prophecy, within our reach to comprehend how likely or unlikely it is that this punishment will be really inflicted; none but God can know the hearts of the interdicters, or restrain their power, and He hath not revealed to us, either that they will not or shall not execute their laws, and so it is neither cowardice nor imprudence, not pusillanimity but rational foresight[k], to expect that they who have been so severe to promulgate this inderdict, may not be so kind as to rescind or suspend the execution of the penalties denounced by it. Or if any man have reason to think otherwise, he may then be obliged to act by that reason, but not to impose it *sub periculo animæ* on every other man, who discerns no cause for such persuasion.

33. For the second; It is visible in the interdict on one side, that the first single exercise of our functions brings imprisonment; the second a second imprisonment; and the third the deportation parallel to that which was St. John's portion: but the advantage on the other side is not visible; for 1. there is no duty of piety in our prospect, no confession of Christ,—which was wont to ennoble the primitive sufferings,—our not preaching for awhile is by no kind of interpretation a denying of Christ. Nor 2. obedience either to any command of Christ's,—as I suppose hath already been cleared,—or yet

[k] οὐκ ἀγεννές ἐστι τὸ μετ' οἰκονομίας περιστάμενον τοὺς κινδύνους, μὴ ὁμόσε αὐτοῖς χωρεῖν.—Origen. cont. Celsum.

CHAP. VI.

to the trusts or commands of those that have committed any part of God's flock unto us, for all those trusts and commands reserve place for outward accidents, for sickness, for urgent avocations, &c. Nor 3. obligation or motive of charity; it is not discernible what real advantage it will bring to any of our brethren, that he that hath preached a thousand sermons already, should preach two sermons more, which may not be equally provided for, by some other safer means.

34. And then as the Apostle's repeated exhortation hath its place, so that is expressed to be, in such πονηραὶ ἡμέραι, "evil days," or times, viz., that we should ἐξαγοράζεσθαι [τὸν] καιρὸν, "gain" or buy out "the season:" St. Chrysostom[l] interprets it by the contrariety to κινδύνους περιττοὺς ὑπομένειν καὶ κέρδος οὐκ ἔχοντας, "undergoing unnecessary and gainless dangers," such as no obligation exacts nor charity invites, and Plutarch[m] paraphrases it by ὠνεῖσθαι τοῦ χρόνου τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, "buying the safety of the time," i. e. avoiding the present danger, and reserving ourselves for opportunities of more profitable services.

[Eph. iv. 16; Col. iv. 5.]

35. Such opportunities as these are as gifts of God, and it cannot be either wise, or pious, or charitable to forfeit or sell them for no price: that we should set some valuation upon them we have St. Cyprian's example[n], and that commended as a special act of generosity and self-denial in him, that having in his prospect some service which he might perform to God by living, he made choice of longer life by subducing himself in time of danger, rather than of the martyr's crown when it was fairly offered him.

[Some employments remaining notwithstanding the interdict.]

36. Beside these, there is also a competent number of present employments for our Christian and ministerial talents still remaining to us notwithstanding the present interdict: I shall not need enumerate them, but only mind my brethren, that continual prayer for all men, and particularly for our unkindest enemies, is one seasonable part of that task; and though that might be performed also in Patmos, yet

[l] Tom. iv. p. 148. l. 12. [ed. Savil.]

[m] Apoph. Scipion.

[n] [Vultis scire secessum illum non fuisse formidinem? ut nihil aliud excusem, ipse postmodum passus est, quam passionem utique ex more vitaret, si et ante vitasset. Fuit fere formido illa, sed justa formido quæ dominum timeret offendere, formido quæ] præceptis Dei mallet obsequi quam sic coronari.—Pontius Diac., in vita Cypriani, [p. cxxxix.]

others there are, of which a strange land or wilderness is not capable; and between these we may profitably and comfortably divide this vacancy, and busily and charitably, and to very excellent purpose, exercise ourselves, till God shall in mercy return our wonted tasks, call us back to the constant labour and full business of His vineyard again.

37. And if herein we be not scandalously wanting to these opportunities, which how improbably soever they look at a distance, God can convert, and hath certainly in His wisdom designed for the greater advantages of His servants, and to more abundant fruit to our account, this will be matter of full satisfaction, and more than so, even of comfort and joy to conscience, and supersede all necessity of further answer to this scruple.

CHAP. VII.

THE BENEFICIAL USES OF OUR PRESENT CONDITION.

SECT. 1.

FIRST CONTEMPT OF THE WORLD.

1. THUS far I have proceeded by way of retrospect, or reflection on the sad matter of our present condition, and endeavoured to foresee and forestal those scandals to which it is principally liable, that no man may be ensnared, or offended, or so much as discouraged by it.

2. It is now time that I look forward on some few of the many great uses we are to make of this state, the beneficial exercises which seem most peculiarly apportioned to it; that so we may, according to St. Paul's direction, τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἐπεκτείνεσθαι, "give a stretch forward to the things which are before," and so διώκειν, make that a latter stage in our present course toward the great βραβεῖον, "the prize" of all, and so of our present *agones*. [Phil. iii. 13.]

3. And the first step that we advance, as it cannot miss to furnish us with an armature against all the vastest changes that this mutable world can subject us to, with an *O passi*

CHAP. VII.

graviora[o], giving us an assurance that what next shall come cannot be more strange and unexpected, less within the diviner's power to foresee, or indeed much more vast and horrid at the nearest approach than this which we already discern that God hath chosen for us; so it may be very proper to wean us, and mortify in us all fondness to that which hath now nothing left that is lovely or desirable in it.

[Ps. xxvii. 4.]

4. We know David's *unicum petii*, the one thing that he counted worth "desiring of the Lord," and without which all the rest had no relish in it. And this hath God seen fit to rend from us at this time, that we may have never an hostage left to engage our kindness to the world.

[Advantage of losing all that deserves to be rejoiced in.]

5. When all that deserves to be rejoiced in in this life is most strictly warded from us,—such sure are the fruits of that paradise from which we are now exiled,—what Christian spirit of the coarsest mould, that hath most of allay in his composition, can in earnest solicit a reprieve of the severest sentence, court this world, or dread a final parting with it, when by any further summons He that hath cast him into these briers and thorns shall mercifully call and invite him out of them?

6. The eremite or anchoret that hath passed so great a part of his journey towards heaven as to be come within a pace of his *non ultra*, like Simeon Stylita in Theodoret immured in his pillar, and become already but his own statue and monument as it were, and hath but the patience of one step more required of him, to conclude his travel, to lodge him in Abraham's bosom, were surely very unkind to Heaven and treacherous to his own aims and interests, if he should then stop, or start, or think of a retreat.

[Ps. cxxii. 1—3.]

7. And the like contradiction were it to our own greatest concernments, when we are divested of all the *vivendi causæ*, the comforts or causes of living,—the chief of which is that gladsome news in the Psalmist, "when they said unto him, Let us go up to the house of the Lord," whereupon he could revive himself out of any dumps with this one cordial, "My feet shall stand in thy gates, O Jerusalem," and, "Jerusalem is as a city at unity within itself,"—when, I say, we are cast out of this presence of the Lord, this comfortable, though

[o] [Virg. Æn. i. 199.]

SECT. I.

but ambulatory tent of His, where for a time He hath allowed us an access unto Him, to tremble at the sight of that officer, which comes but to return us to our home and joys, and to secure the firmness of our future abode, that it shall be ascertained to us for ever.

8. Schammatha and Maranatha we know were the significative titles of the Jewish exterminations, and the interpretation of them the approach of destruction from the Lord; the Sanhedrins casting out of the assembly, was, saith Josephus, the frequent forerunner of that other out of the "land of the living." And the like abode was thought to attend the Druids' censures, when they interdicted any man the liberty of sacrificing; *quæ pœna apud eos gravissima est,* saith Cæsar[p], the heaviest punishment that could befal the Gauls or Britons. And though this of ours be no parallel, yet it may be useful thus far to mind us of our duty, to prepare us so as not to be surprised whatsoever God shall next send.

9. Meanwhile, one comfort this of ours is capable of, above any real, though meekest censures of the Church,—*ἐπιτιμίαι* and *νουθεσίαι,* the reproofs or admonitions ecclesiastical,—that it is not *futuri judicii præjudicium,* in Tertullian's[q] phrase, hath no inauspicious influence on our future weal, the binding us on earth, though it never be rescinded here, will be far from interdicting or excluding us from heaven: there was, I hope, never more truth in Origen's resolution[r], *Qui ante non exiit nihil læditur, unde interdum fit, ut ille qui foras mittatur, intus sit,* "He that was not gone out before is not harmed by this interdict, he that is cast out is still within."

10. Let us by the help of God, and in obedience to these, and all other His gracious chastisements, retain, or timely

[p] Illi (Druidæ sc.) rebus divinis intersunt, sacrificia publica ac privata procurant, religiones interpretantur; ad hos magnus adolescentium numerus disciplinæ causa concurrit; magnoque hi sunt apud eos honore; nam fere de omnibus controversiis publicis privatisque constituunt, et si quod est admissum facinus, si cædes facta, si de hereditate si de finibus controversia est; iidem decernunt, præmia pœnasque, constituunt; siquis aut privatus aut publicus eorum decreto non stetit, sacrificiis interdicunt; hæc pœna apud eos est gravissima; quibus ita est interdictum, ii numero impiorum ac sceleratorum habentur; iis omnes decedunt, aditum eorum sermonesque defugiunt ne quid ex contagione incommodi accipiant; neque iis petentibus jus redditur, neque honos ullus communicatur.—Cæsar de bell. Gall., lib. vi. p. 89.

[q] Apol., cap. 39.

[r] In Levit., Hom. xiv. [?]

CHAP. VII.

get our clean nuptial garments about us, and then, though we be gathered up from the lanes and hedges, we shall have no reason to doubt of our call to and reception at the marriage.

SECT. 2.

SECONDLY, UNIVERSAL REFORMATION.

1. But then, secondly, as in the censures of the Church those last methods of apostolical and divine charity, designed for the ransom and reduction of the most enthralled captive, and obstinately bent to bring him home to God, though it were by the ministry of Satan himself, there was no peace to be hoped or obtained from this importunity, no truce from these merciful scourges, these wounds of the perfectest friend, whilst there remained one excess unhumbled, one lust unpurged, one rage unmortified, one ὀχύρωμα, be it high or stronghold, pride or habit of sin, unlevelled or unsubdued; so must we reckon of it at this time, while we are under these shadows and false images of it.

[2 Cor. x. 4.]

[Removal of rebukes not to be asked for till they have done their work.]

2. The rebukes of Heaven that are now upon us are as inexorable as His unwearied love of souls can make them, we must not in kindness to ourselves beg their remove till they have finished the saving work for which they are as surely sent, as Christ came into the world upon the same errand; and then what an inauspicious symptom must it be if the application shall increase the paroxysms, if the sins that brought these judgments to chastise them should make a shift to thrive under them, if the fruitful parent should become also the incestuous birth of its own progeny.

3. The intimations which Scripture gives us of such charitative severities,—such certainly are God's now unto us, designed wholly to ends of mercy,—all look this way; Bishop Titus' rebukes must be whet till they advance to the ἀποτόμως, to be sharp and cutting, and never lose the edge till they have obtained their design, ἵνα ὑγιαίνωσιν, till they have by lancing fetched out the very core of the imposthume, the dregs and sediment of the disease.

Tit. i. 13.

4. The Apostle elsewhere expresses it by very comprehen-

sive phrases, by *καθαίρειν λογισμοὺς*, "subduing" and bringing to nothing the very thoughts, disputes, or reasonings in the breasts, *πᾶν ὕψωμα*, "every relation or unevenness in the heart," that doth but *ἐπαίρεσθαι*, "lift itself up against the knowledge of God or Christian practice," *πᾶν νόημα*, "every conceit or notion," and in fine, *ἐκδικῆσαι*, "to act revenge," to punish capitally, so as it never revive again, *πᾶσαν παρακοὴν*, "every not hearkening or disobedience;" and till this be done effectually Timothy must not be "too hasty to impose hands," absolve, or loose those censures, lest he bring upon himself the guilt of those sins which it was the duty of his censures to reform in others: the *ἐπακολουθοῦσαι ἁμαρτίαι*, "consequent sins," those that are still continued in after the hand of discipline is upon a man, have a fearful aggravation belonging to them, that of thundering back against Heaven the most unagreeable return to the utmost charity, the most prodigious anomaly or irregularity in the world.

SECT. II.

2 Cor. x. 5, 6.

1 Tim. v. 22.

ver. 24.

5. We know the dress that belonged to the excommunicated person, both in the Jewish and primitive Christian Church, the same, that of the strictest profoundest mourners, and all the assembly were to accompany him in the same doleful habit; St. Paul expresses it by "God's humbling the very Apostle that inflicts it," and his "coming," *ἐν λύπῃ*, "in a mournful guise unto the offender." And in this also the parallel may hold, the mourning weeds in many respects very well become us at this time. And shall he that is a mourning for himself, a celebrating as it were his own obsequies, and should in reason begin the *θρηνωδία*, the "doleful elegy," to others in an accent of exemplary sorrow, forget the business in hand so prodigiously as to mistake an oath or execration for it, to aim that shaft against Heaven that should have been designed at his own breast, bewail his excesses in new riots, and as the deluge to the old world, overwhelm the sinner, instead of purging away the sin?

2 Cor. xii. 21.

2 Cor. ii. 11.

6. Were this tolerably fit to be the return but to human discipline to him that speaketh,—though it be oracles, so *χρηματίζων* signifieth,—"on earth," yet it were most intolerable madness thus to "turn away from Him that speaketh from heaven," and that is our case at this time.

Heb. xii. 25.

CHAP. VII.

7. It is vain to question the instruments, when by its being fallen upon us we know the "counsel and hand of God," προώρισε γενέσθαι, "hath preordained it shall be done," not only permitting it thus to fall, but also designing it charitatively to our greatest good, the mortifying every sin that still lives among us. And if we do not now qualify ourselves for our return to this glorious kingdom of His on earth, into which there is no regular entrance for any "thing that defileth, or that worketh abomination, or lie," I mean either for carnality or hypocrisy, just as we would think ourselves obliged to do for our admission into the kingdom of heaven, that vision which may not be approached without all kind of purity, we are still fitted for severer methods, and cannot without a kind of sacrilege covet or wish a liberty of access to God's holy things, which cannot be enjoyed without being defiled also and profaned by us.

[Acts iv. 28.]

Rev. xxi. 27.

8. What is here said thus generally ought to be as distinctly and particularly applied to every leprous spot or plague-sore in each unreformed sinner's heart among us, as if I had delivered by retail the most perfect catalogue of them. "Let us search and try our ways," and now if ever perfect our vows of returning to the Lord.

Lam. iii. 40.

9. And this must be endeavoured by all the most probable remaining means that may any way be ordinable to it, sure not by men's taking advantage of the times, and casting off all even "form of godliness;" this is the sad fruit of the reprobate soil, the forerunner of curse and burning. But the more desolate our condition is, the more solicitously to endeavour to gain God to our society and assistance, to keep close to Him in constant frequent returns of converse on our knees or on our faces, (to that our closets are much better accommodated than our churches or more public assemblies, and our exclusion from them may well mind us of that posture either of Christ, or of the προσκλαίοντες, or "howling penitentiaries" in the primitive times,) talking with Him, and receiving both aids and directions from Him, handling Him and seeing Him in His word, (and those much more faithful means of converting spiritual food into spiritual nourishment than the ear hath been experimented to be,) and so with

Heb. vi. 8.

Matt. xxvi. 39.

more advantage filling ourselves out of the ocean, without repining that the drop of the bucket is taken away from us. SECT. II.

10. It is possible we may be found to have somewhat by us in store that may prove food, when the famine hath cooked it for us; that prayer which Christ gave us, as once God by Moses did manna, from heaven, may, when it is better considered than our plenty ever yet permitted it to be, prove an help to all our infirmities, that one plate of pure gold be beaten out into a great deal of wire, increase like the widow's oil and meal, by a deliberate effusion,—as I have heard of a pious man, that made it his whole private office,—not by giving it the number of the Romanist's rosary, but by impressing on his own heart first, and from thence pouring out to God the weight and full commentary,—as far as his and his brethren's known wants suggested,—of every petition. And I doubt but it may prove like manna in that respect also, agreeable to every good Christian's taste, and proper to his stomach, if he come now with a vigorous appetite to make use of it. [More help may be found than we know of in the Lord's prayer,] [1 Kings xvii. 14.]

11. And if but the several articles of the Creed might be used as they were meant, to enforce on us the many great engagements of sincere reformation, and to mind us of the mercy of the second covenant, the merit and example of His sufferings, and the power and blessed influence of His resurrection, &c., we should need no more outward aids,—though there be innumerable still ready at hand for any that could have received benefit by those which are now taken from us,—but those which it is very hard for us to miss, the several branches of our duty, very legible in the most perspicuous parcels of Scripture, the Decalogue and the Sermon on the Mount, to direct us in that way wherein, by God's help, instantly implored, we may be secure from stumbling. [in the Creed,]

12. However, if a trusty guide may add either to the comfort or safety of this journey, there are such now at leisure, that may be had without hire; it is pity, if they may be employed to thy benefit, they should be suffered to be idle, being indeed never more proper and profitable in any case, than in this of overlooking thy performances of this first branch of repentance, in the duties of mortification. [in guides to be had without hire.]

CHAP. VII.

SECT. 3.

THIRDLY, FRUITS OF REPENTANCE. AMONG THEM, FIRST, PERFECT CONTENTMENT: DISCERNIBLE BY TWO TRIALS.

1. But for the loosing of sinners, and restoring them to the peace of the Church, the bare mortification is not sufficient. The rescuing from the jaws or gates of hell doth not presently secure us of our right to heaven. There must be the building of houses and planting of orchards, saith St. Hierome[s], on Jer. xxix. 5, "taking wives, and begetting of sons and daughters," *cum ex Jerusalem, i. e. ecclesia ejecti fuerimus*, "when we are cast out of Jerusalem, i. e. the Church." There must be the καλὰ ἔργα πρόδηλα, "good works," in the plural,—ἀγαθοεργίαι the penitential canons usually style them, the living in more than one single trade of goodnesses, —and those manifest or discernible,—there being in that case no rule given for the concealing, but rather publishing them,—before it can be seasonable with God or profitable for us to have His discipline removed.

1 Tim. v. 25.

2. Some of these that have most peculiarity of agreeableness to our present condition, may not unfitly be specified.

[Contentment]

3. First, that of a perfect contentment and unfeigned submission to the good will and choices of God, with what sharpness soever they come mixed to us: in the words of Micah, which St. Hierome[t] recommends to him particularly, on whom the censures of the Church are fallen, "I will bear the indignation of the Lord, because I have sinned against Him," —it is sure we have sins enough to own this, or whatever worse thing shall happen to us,—"until He plead my cause and execute judgment for me."

Micah vii. 9.

[enforced by consideration of suffering for well-doing.]

4. To this plenitude of cheerful contentment, beside many others, one eminent motive suggests itself, by considering, that when we were so richly furnished with variety of infamous matter, any least of which might fitly have owned, as having most justly provoked, the fiercest of God's revenges,

[s] [Tom. iv. p. 664.]

[t] Si [forsitan ob aliquod peccatum] de congregatione fratrum et [de] domo Dei ejicimur—In Ezec. cap. 17. tom. iv. p. 814.

SECT. III.

and, if He had so pleased, made us doubly miserable, once under the smart of His rod, and a second turn under the reproach of the scandalous sin which it signally was directed to point out and visit; God hath given to us, *ἐχαρίσατο*, out of His special undeserved favour vouchsafed to us to "suffer for well doing," at least not for evil doing,—and that[u] such shall not lose its reward the examples of Job and Lazarus will secure us,—and so to bear in our bodies no other *στίγματα*, "brands," or "marks," but only those "of the Lord, Jesus." This, I say, if applied, and brought home by every man to his own individual, and the foulest sins he hath at any time been guilty of, and might have been surprised in, will found more than a contented acquiescence in God's present choices for us, even oblige us severally,—as St. Peter thought most just upon consideration,—to "sanctify the Lord God in our hearts," to magnify the mercy, not repine at the severity of His methods towards us.

[Phil. i. 29.]

[1 Pet. iii. 15.]

5. And for the judging of this, whether it be sincerely what it ought, it must be observed, first, whether we have any very unkind reflections on those that are the instruments of it. Abishai that would have had David's displeasure break out against him that cast stones at him and all his servants, did not look through David's optic; if he had, he would have discerned what David did, "that possibly the Lord had said unto him, Curse David, and who shall then say, Wherefore hath he done so?" It is as sure as any thing can be in the world, that God meant no real curses or mischiefs to David at this time, yet because David had sins enough, for which this, and much more might justly be permitted by God to

[Means of judging whether it is sincere.]

2 Sam. xvi. 6.

[u] Ἵνα δὲ καὶ ἑτέρωθεν μάθῃς, ὅσον τῶν παθημάτων τὸ κέρδος,] κἂν μὴ διὰ Θεόν τις πάθῃ [καὶ οὐδεὶς ὑπερβολὴν τοῦτο νομιζέτω·] πάθῃ δὲ ὅμως καὶ γενναίως ἐνέγκῃ, καὶ πράως, τὸν Θεὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι δοξάζων· [αὐτὸς οὗτος οὐκ ἤδει ὅτι διὰ τὸν Θεὸν ταῦτα ἔπασχεν, ὅμως διὰ τοῦτο ἐστεφανοῦτο ὅτι οὐδὲ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπιστάμενος ἐκαρτέρει γενναίως] καὶ ὁ Λάζαρος [ἐκεῖνος ἀσθενείᾳ φύσεως περιπεσών· τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἦν δήπου διὰ τὸν Θεὸν παθεῖν· ἐπειδὴ ὅλως ἔπαθε, καὶ ἐκαρτέρησε καὶ γενναίως ἤνεγκε τὴν ἐρημίαν τῶν θεραπευόντων, τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἑλκῶν ἀθυμίαν, τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ, τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπεροψίας τοῦ πλουσίου καὶ τῆς ὠμότητος, οἶσθα ἡλίκων ἀπέλαυσε στεφάνων· καίτοιγε αὐτοῦ κατόρθωμα οὐδὲν εὕρομεν εἰπεῖν· οὐχ ὅτι πένητας ἐλέησεν, οὐχ ὅτι ἀδικουμένοις παρέστη, οὐχ ὅτι ἀγαθόν τι τοιοῦτον εἰργάσατο, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ πυλῶνι τοῦ πλουσίου κατάκλισιν, καὶ τὴν ἀρρωστίαν, καὶ τῶν κυνῶν τὰς γλώττας, καὶ τὴν τοῦ πλουσίου κατ' αὐτοῦ γενομένην ὑπεροψίαν· ἅπερ τοῦ πάσχειν κακῶς ἅπαντα ἦν· ἀλλ' ὅμως καίτοι μηδὲν γενναῖον ποιήσας, ἐπειδὴ μόνον τὴν ἐκ τούτου ἀθυμίαν ἤνεγκε γενναίως τῷ τοσαῦτα κατορθωκότι πατριάρχῃ τῆς αὐτῆς ἔτυχε λήξεως.—S. Chrys. Olympiadi Epist. iii. tom. iii. p. 560.]

CHAP. VII.

fall upon him, and by his not withholding Shimei, it was evident God had thus chosen to permit it, the holy man is forward to take it as coming directly from God, and quarrels nothing but the impatience of Abishai, "What have I to do with you ye sons of Zeruiah, so let him curse, because the Lord [hath said unto him, Curse David."]

ver. 10.

6. The pious man under God's discipline hath impatience to none but those that would have him impatient, as our Saviour, that expresseth not the least displeasure to the instruments of His death, to Caiaphas, to Pilate, to the soldiers, to Judas, to the devil himself, doth yet rebuke Peter's kindness that would have averted His suffering it: he is the only Satan that would rob Him of His cheerful and joyful submission to the Father's will, for the accomplishing of which Satan himself is but a kind of disciple: Judas and he do Him a very acceptable service; the former is styled 'friend,' and called upon only to 'make haste,' in thus ministering unto Him.

John xiii. 27.

7. Secondly, the sincerity of the contentment may be judged by the quiet and stillness and constancy in that posture into which God hath cast us. An uncontented mind is always removing and tossing upon the bed, from one side to the other, as in a continual posture of the greatest uneasiness: and so is he that hath any inward regrets to the condition that God hath placed him in; whereas the pious man can be content to wait God's leisure[x], and with steadiness of fixed eyes to look for Him, till He shall please to discover His face.

8. Such indeed are wont to be times of temptation, wherein as false prophets are wont to arise, so they have many advantages, by the assistance whereof to deceive many, and the greatest and most prevalent of those is the reproach of our solitude. He that is cast out will be ready

Mat. xxiv. 11.

[x] [οἶσθα γὰρ ἡλίκος ὑμῖν ἔσται ὁ μισθὸς, οἷα τὰ βραβεῖα, πηλικοὶ οἱ στέφανοι ὅταν τοσούτων ὄντων τῶν ταραττόντων αὐτοὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν φέρησθε· μεγίστην τοῖς παροῦσι κακοῖς ἐντεῦθεν διδόντες τὴν διόρθωσιν· ὅτι γὰρ] εἰ βουληθείητε στῆναι γενναίως, κἂν ὀλίγοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἦτε, περιέσεσθε τῶν πλειόνων τῶν ἐπὶ κακίᾳ καλλωπιζομένων, [οὐδεὶς ἀντερεῖ· ἀρετῆς γὰρ ἰσχυρότερον οὐδὲν, καὶ τοῦ ταῦτα ζητεῖν ἃ τειχίζει τὰς ἐκκλησίας· ἔχοντες τοίνυν τὴν γνώμην ἀρκοῦσαν ὑμῖν εἰς τὸ πολλὴν παρὰ Θεοῦ ῥοπὴν ἐπισπάσασθαι, τὰ παρ' ἑαυτῶν εἰσενέγκειν παρακληθῆτε τεῖχος μέγιστον ταῖς παντα χοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐκκλησίαις διὰ τῆς γνώμης ταύτης γινόμενοι. S.] Chrysost. Epist. 85. Lucio episc. [tom. iii. p. 638.]

SECT. III.

to hearken to any that tenders him an hospitable reception, and those that have least reason to produce for his entering into their society, will be most forward to make use of such an advantage, which may supply the place of argument.

9. And thus an error that hath but the luck to be gotten in fashion, may by the pomp or φαντασία of many followers, probably enough get his company, that finds himself left alone, and is not very well pleased with the state, and satisfied of the reasons of his solitude.

10. This therefore is the second trial of our contentment, if being cast out by men, we can satisfy ourselves with God's company,—and the man that was born blind will yield us a good omen in this matter; when the Jews had cast him out, presently Jesus heard it and found him,—if being in the wilderness we be not one of those reeds there, which our Saviour tells us are "shaken with the wind." [John ix. 33.] [Matt. xi. 7.]

11. This were the way to cast ourselves out indeed, and so to have that character of real heretics or schismatics, in St. Paul, so far as to be αὐτοκατάκριτοι, "condemned by our own sentence," which is much worse than to be more severely handled by other men; and nothing but the grace of God and a contemplation of His wisdom, and an acquiescence in His choices,—which sees persecution fitter for some servants of His than the greatest calm, or grandeur of the most prosperous profession,—can secure us, if temptations choose their seasons, from being thus shaken. [Tit. iii. 11.]

SECT. 4.

SECONDLY, PEACE WITH ALL MEN.

1. Our second vital employment, very fitly apportioned to our solitude, is our ardent desires of, and prayers for the peace of Jerusalem. We know what was required of the captive Israelites when they were carried into a strange land, to "seek the peace of that city whither they were carried away captive, and to pray to the Lord for it." And we now know, I hope, assuredly, whither it is that we are banished, even just thither where we were before, into the bosom of the holy Catholic Church of Christ. [Prayers for peace, an employment,] [Jer. xxix. 7.]

CHAP. VII.

such rules as these, there should yet be so much of the contrary temper, nothing but wars and fightings among Christians, eternal feuds among children of peace, that the whole host of angels of light should transform themselves into legions of darkness; that the Mahomedan, that is otherwise impregnable, should be only thus conquered by the Christian, that this hath more wars a managing than he, and those wars more cruel, reaching to the soul, anathematizing of brethren, casting out the Greek Church, the whole east, for heretics, upon no other quarrel but the *Filioque;* and a great part of the west, without pretence of any word in the old creeds, for not accepting the Trent articles, or differing with them about their one monarchic successor of our great Prophet: that all religion should be placed in the belief of those doctrines, which if they were true are no least part of the Christian faith: that all those things, whereon certainly our eternal state depends, judgment, and mercy, and faith, should by consent of parties be left out of the scheme; little or none of our zeal laid out on them, or for them, but all mis-spent on that which is not bread, that brings no vital nourishment to any. Lastly, that those that rebuke tyranny and bitterness in others, under no meaner a charge than that of antichristianism, should outgo all these patterns themselves, proclaim liberty to the captive, to get the cross off from their own shoulders; and when they have done so enslave and bind it fast on the shoulders of all others, and, after all these contradictions both to religion and reason, and but ingenuous nature to the goodness and joyfulness of "brethren's living together in unity,"—men that are guilty of all these proclaim God the inspirer or favourer of all, transform the Prince of peace into the inciter or friend of confusion: these are a whole chaos of prodigies, a landscape of wild appearances, above all that the African merchants, or *scriptores mirabilium,* have ever furnished us with, and yet make up but a part of those monsters and fish-heads which adorn our maps of Europe at this day.

[Psalm cxxxiii. 1.]

7. And then what armies of votaries can be sufficient to keep off that wrath of God that threatens no less than all Christendom for that one unchristian piece of her temper; what floods and rivers of tears to slake the rage of this one

sin, which is more probable than all the powers of darkness beside to bring it low to the *πύλαι ἅδου*, which yet we have assurance shall never wholly prevail against it.

8. How can we at such a vacancy as this be more profitably employed than in learning and practising our postures in this sacred militia, in wrestling and combating with Heaven for this one blessing, this comprehensive donative, this grace beyond all other graces, ("the greatest of these is charity,") this duty above all other duties, ("above all things have fervent charity among yourselves,") this utmost pitch of celestial joy, this divinity itself, ("God is love, and he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God, and God in him,") the blessing of Catholic unity, universal peace; and with Jacob never give over the combat till we have prevailed with God for this blessing?

[Prayer in such circumstances a profitable employment.]

1 Cor. xiii. 13. 1 Pet. iv. 8.

[1 John iv. 16.]

[Gen. xxxii. 28.]

A form of prayer to this purpose the reader will find at the end of the treatise of Fundamentals[z].

9. And that it may not be *ἐνενέργητος εὐχὴ*, in Hierocles, or *muliebre supplicium* in Portius Cato[a], an "inactive prayer," or "womanish supplication," that our hearts and hands, our utmost endeavours may herein be semblable to our tongues and prayers, it is very much our duty first to cleanse our own hearts from every degree of this pollution, not to leave alive in us one animosity either to any person, or society, or portion of Christians in the world, to resolve with the fathers in their dealing with the Donatists, that those shall be our brethren which will not admit us to be their brethren, and according to this beginning to set out industriously and indefatigably in the ways of peace, every man to contribute his symbolum toward so good a work, and every man, as God shall enable him, to do it freely and cheerfully, for in nothing more than in this doth "God love the cheerful giver."

[2 Cor. ix. 7.]

10. And would we but take the Apostle's counsel herein, *φιλοτιμεῖσθαι ἡσυχάζειν*, be as emulous and ambitious, and as zealously solicitous in our contention for quiet,—i. e. never

1 Thess. iv. 11.

[z] [See p. 188.]

[a] [Non votis, neque suppliciis muliebribus auxilia deorum parantur; vigilando, agendo, bene consulendo prospera omnia cedunt; ubi socordiæ te atque ignaviæ tradideris, nequidquam deos implores, irati infestique sunt.—] Sallust. [Bell. Cat., cap. 52.]

CHAP. VII.

contend with any but the implacable and unreconcilable,—as the most passionate broiler or *boutefeu* is wont to be for his *μῆλον ἔριδος*, his 'beloved strife' and 'contention,' that brings him in no other reward but blows and woe, a tophet here and a hell hereafter, I should not doubt but some valuable contribution might be made to this sacred treasury at this time by the poor widow Church of England with her few mites; which, if they cannot hope for thanks from men, have yet a full assurance of being not despised or unrewarded by Him who still "sits looking what is cast into the treasury."

[Luke xxi. 1.]

SECT. 5.

THIRDLY, FREQUENCY OF SYNAXES.

1. It is not my purpose to enumerate all the several parts of duty which this season exacts from us. Yet one must not be omitted, which in such times the Apostle very diligently warns us of, that of the *μὴ ἐγκαταλείπειν τὴν ἐπισυναγωγὴν ἡμῶν*, "not giving over the assembling ourselves together," as oft as we can gain opportunities for them, holding up the synaxes, how thin soever they are fain to be.

[Heb. x. 25.]

[Another duty, assembling together more zealously and frequently,]

2. And this in reason now more zealously and frequently than ever, for that I conceive some part of the design and importance of the Apostle's addition there, *ἀλλὰ παρακαλοῦντες*, but "calling upon one another," minding of the necessity and benefit of this duty. And though the ensuing, *καὶ τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον*, "by so much the more," be there expressly founded on the approach of their expected deliverance, yet among the primitive Christians the continual expectations of their dangers appears to have had the same effect, putting them upon their constant daily synaxes, as not knowing how long they should live to enjoy them[b].

[b] *σπουδάζετε οὖν πυκνότερον συνέρχεσθαι εἰς εὐχαριστίαν Θεοῦ καὶ εἰς δόξαν· ὅτ' ἂν γὰρ πυκνῶς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ γίνεσθε, καθαιροῦνται αἱ δυνάμεις τοῦ Σατανᾶ, καὶ λύεται ὁ ὄλεθρος αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ὁμονοίᾳ ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως· [οὐδέν ἐστιν ἄμεινον εἰρήνης, ἐν ᾗ πᾶς πόλεμος καταργεῖται ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων.—S.] Ignat. Ep. ad Eph. 13.*

[εἰ τοίνυν μάθοις τὸν κύριόν μου Κυριακὸν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἐπὶ τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως διατρίβειν, ἐπίστειλον αὐτῷ ταύτης ἕνεκεν τῆς ὑποθέσεως, καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἄνυσαι δυνήσεται· καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν παρρησίαν ἔχοντας παρακάλει πολλῇ κεχρῆσθαι τῇ εὐχῇ, πολλῇ τῇ ἐκτενείᾳ, ὥστε τὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης τοῦτο ναυάγιον παύσασθαι·] ἀφόρητα [γὰρ καὶ]

3. The quality of the sin, and the judgment that is there threatened to those that voluntarily neglect such opportunities, is very considerable. It is there, first, set opposite to "holding fast the profession of our hope," and so is itself a degree of renouncing the Christian's anchor, a "wavering" —as is implied in the *ἀκλινῆ*,—and a "drawing back," and that noted to be very dangerous and destructive. And accordingly we see in Pliny[c], that they who quitted SECT. V. ver. 23. ver. 23. ver. 39.

τὴν Ἀσίαν κατέλαβε κακὰ, καὶ ἑτέρας δὲ πόλεις καὶ ἐκκλησίας· ἅπερ [ἵνα μὴ δοκῶ διενοχλεῖν,] ἀφιεὶς τὸ καθ' ἕκαστον λέγειν, ἐκεῖνο μόνον ἐρῶ, ὅτι εὐχῶν πόλλων χρεία, καὶ δεήσεων ἐκτενῶν.—S. Chrysost. Epist. 221. Constantio presb., tom. iii. p. 722.

[*μὴ διαλίπῃς εὐχόμενος ὑπέρ τε τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, ὑπέρ τε τῆς ταπεινώσεως τῆς ἡμετέρας καὶ τὸν φιλάνθρωπον παρακαλῶν Θεὸν δοῦναι λύσιν τοῖς καταλαβοῦσι τὴν οἰκουμένην κακοῖς·*] *εὐχῶν* [*γὰρ*] *μόνων τὰ πάροντα δεῖται πράγματα, καὶ εὐχῶν μάλιστα τῶν ὑμετέρων τῶν πολλὴν πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν παρρησίαν κεκτημένων· μὴ* [*δὴ*] *διαλίπητε τοῦτο ἐκτενῶς ποιοῦντες·* [*καὶ ἡμῖν δὲ ἡνίκα ἂν ἐξῇ, συνεχῶς ἐπιστέλλειν μὴ κατοκνεῖτε.*]—Id. epist. 92. Moysi presb. ib. p. 641. Sic et Epist. 193. Pæanio, tom. iii. p. 708.

[*ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς, οὐδὲν δεόμεθα παρακλήσεως, ἀρκεῖ γὰρ ἡμῖν εἰς παράκλησιν τῶν γενομένων ἡ ὑπόθεσις· θρηνοῦμεν δὲ τὸν κοινὸν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν χειμῶνα, καὶ τὸ τὴν οἰκουμένην καταλαβὸν ναυάγιον, καὶ πάντας ὑμᾶς παρακαλοῦμεν εὐχαῖς βοηθεῖν, ὥστε τὴν πανωλεθρίαν ταύτην λυθῆναί ποτε καὶ εἰς λευκὴν ἅπαντα μεταβαλεῖν γαλήνην· τοῦτο δὴ ποιοῦντες μὴ διαλίπητε·*] *λανθάνοντες* [*γὰρ*] *καὶ κρυπτόμενοι, πλείονα σχολὴν ἔχετε νῦν προσκαρτερεῖν ταῖς εὐχαῖς,* [*καὶ μετὰ θλιβομένης διανοίας· οὐ μικρὸν δὲ τοῦτο, τῷ φιλανθρώπῳ προσπίπτειν Θεῷ*] *μὴ διαλίπητε οὖν τοῦτο ποιοῦντες* [*καὶ ἡνίκα ἂν ἐξῇ καὶ γράφετε ἡμῖν συνεχῶς.*]—S. Chrysost. [Epist. cxiii. Palladio episc., tom. iii. p. 655.]

There is nothing fitter for suffering Churchmen's turns, than those epistles of St. Chrysostome to Olympias and others, to be meditated on, for the fortifying of themselves, and for their direction and consolation.

[Obtemperandum est namque ostensionibus atque admonitionibus justis, ut a pastoribus oves] in periculo [non deserantur, sed] grex omnis in unum congregetur, [et exercitus Domini ad certamen militiæ cœlestis armetur. Merito enim trahebatur dolentium pœnitentia tempore longiore ut infirmis in exitu subveniretur quandiu quies et tranquillitas aderat, quæ differre diu plangentium lacrymas et subvenire sero morientibus in infirmitate pateretur. At vero nunc non infirmis, sed fortibus pax necessaria est, nec morientibus sed viventibus, communicatio a nobis danda est;] ut quos excitamus [et hortamur] ad prœlium non inermes et nudos relinquamus sed protectione sanguinis et corporis Christi muniamus, [et cum ad hoc fiat Eucharistia ut possit accipientibus esse tutela, quos tutos esse contra adversarium volumus munimento dominicæ saturitatis armemus. S.] Cypr. Ep. 54. [p. 77.]

[Gravior nunc et ferocior pugna imminet, ad quam fide incorrupta et virtute robusta parare se debeant milites Christi, considerantes idcirco et] quotidie calicem sanguinis Christi bibere, ut possint et ipsi propter Christum sanguinem fundere.—Id. Ep. 56. [p. 90.]

[c] Affirmabant [autem] hanc fuisse summam [vel] culpæ suæ [vel erroris] quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire carmenque [Christo quasi Deo dicere secum invicem; seque sacramento non in scelus aliquod obstringere, sed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent ne depositum appellati abnegarent: quibus peractis morem sibi discedendi fuisse, rursusque coeundi ad capiendum civem, promiscuum tamen et innoxium] quod ipsum facere desiisse post edictum meum [quo secundum mandata tua hetærias esse vetueram. Quo magis necessarium credidi ex duabus ancillis quæ ministræ dicebantur quid esset veri et per tormenta quærere. Sed nihil aliud inveni quam superstitionem pravam et immodicam ideoque dilata cognitione ad consulendum te decucurri.—Plin., lib. x. Ep. 97.]

CHAP. VII.

the *hetæriæ* upon the emperor's prohibitions, were by the heathen inquisitors thought capable of mercy, as well as they that denied Christ. Secondly, it is there included in the number of the ἑκούσια, the 'voluntary' or 'wilful sins' in them, I must suppose he meant, who having the opportunities, whether more or less public, wholly withdrew from them.

ver. 27.

Thirdly, it goes for an ὑπεναντίωσις, a branch of secret contrariety to God and piety, a preferring the world before either. Fourthly, it is of the nature of those sins for which there remains no sacrifice, and hath its part in those other aggravations and fearful expectations that there follow in that text.

[as the primitive Christians did.]

4. The obligation that the primitive Christians conceived themselves under, in this respect, is visible by the frequent mention of those *hetæriæ* and *antelucani conventus*, and *cryptæ arenariæ*, "meetings in upper rooms, in suburbs, in prisons," in times of the heathen persecutors. And so also when heresy or schism prevailed, and drove the orthodox obedient maintainers of catholic truth and peace out of the Churches. For though in these cases they abstained from the public assemblies, and indeed thought it strict duty to do so[d],—the epistle of St. Basil[e] and others to the bishops in Italy and France, and St. Hilary's dissuasives in the former, that of prosperous heresy, and the practice of holy men in the case of St. Chrysostom's deposition[f], doth, for

[d] Of the censure of those that so far complied with the Arians through fear, as to communicate with them, see Concil. Nic. ii. [act i. S.] Athanas. Epist. ad Ruffinianum. Binii Conc., tom. v. p. 538, sqq.

[e] [σιγῇ μὲν γὰρ τὰ τῶν εὐσεβούντων στόματα· ἀνεῖται δὲ πᾶσα βλάσφημος γλῶσσα· ἐβεβηλώθη τὰ ἅγια,] φεύγουσι τοὺς εὐκτηρίους οἴκους οἱ ὑγιαίνοντες τῶν λαῶν, ὡς ἀσεβείας διδασκαλεῖα· κατὰ δὲ τὰς ἐρημίας, πρὸς τὸν ἐν οὐρανοῖς δεσπότην μετὰ στεναγμῶν καὶ δακρύων τὰς χεῖρας αἴρουσιν· [ἔφθασε γὰρ πάντως καὶ μέχρις ὑμῶν τὰ γινόμενα ἐν ταῖς πλείσταις τῶν πόλεων· ὅτι οἱ λαοὶ σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ παιδίοις καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς πρεσβύταις πρὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἐκχυθέντες, ἐν τῷ ὑπαίθρῳ τελοῦσι τὰς προσευχὰς, φέροντες πάσας τὰς ἐκ τοῦ ἀέρος κακοπαθείας σὺν πολλῇ τῇ μακροθυμίᾳ, τὴν παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἀντίληψιν ἀναμένοντες.—S. Basil. Epist. xcii. ad Italos et Gallos, tom. iii. p. 185.]

See also Baronius, An. 370. n. 20—22, from some additions to St. Basil, Ep. 10—12.

[Unum moneo, cavete Antichristum]; male [enim] vos parietum amor cepit, male ecclesiam Dei in tectis ædificiisque veneramini, male sub his pacis nomen ingeritis. [Anne ambiguum est in his Antichristum esse sessurum?] Montes mihi et sylvæ et lacus et carceres et voragines sunt tutiores. In his enim prophetæ aut manentes aut demersi, Dei spiritu prophetabant.—S. Hilar., lib. cont. Auxent. [cap. xii. p. 1269.]

[f] Vide Georgii Alexandrini vitam S. Chrysostomi ed. Savile Eton. 1612. tom. viii. p. 239. lin. 15. et p. 241. lin. 13, &c. [This life of St. Chrysostom has not been inserted in the

the latter, make that clear,—yet the assembling of the orthodox[g], and the more private offices were not to be neglected[h]. And St. Cyprian[i], that advises the prudent and cautious managery of such, doth it expressly on this design, that they might be more sure not to be kept from them. SECT. V.

5. Ecclesiastical history is full of this kind of matter; take one for all set down by Eusebius from the epistles of Dionysius concerning the persecution in Valerian's time, and Æmylianus' edict, and the Christians' constant practice[k].

Benedictine edition to which elsewhere in this volume reference has been made.] Et S. Chrysost. Epist. ad Episc. et Presb., tom. iii. p. 526. Et Epist. Cyriaco cxxv. p. 670. Et Epist. cciv. Pæanio, p. 714.

[g] In time of persecution, see Baron. An. 303. n. 39.

[h] [ἀλλ' ὅμως καὶ] ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς δεσμωτηρίοις οἰκοῦντες, τῆς ἐγχειρισθείσης αὐτοῖς οἰκονομίας οὐκ ἀφίσταντο· ἀλλ' ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος καὶ δεσμωτήριον οἰκῶν, [καὶ μεμαστιγωμένος καὶ αἵματι περιρρεόμενος, καὶ ξυλῷ προσδεδεμένος καὶ τοσαῦτα πάσχων, καὶ] ἐμυσταγωγεῖ ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ [καὶ τὸν δεσμοφύλακα ἐβάπτιζε καὶ τὰ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ πάντα ἐποίει.—S. Chrysost. Epist. [cxxiii. Phœniciæ Presb., p. 664.]

[i] [Nam etsi fratres pro dilectione sua cupidi sunt ad conveniendum et visitandum confessores bonos quos illustravit jam gloriosis initiis divina dignatio, tamen] caute hoc, et non glomeratim, nec per multitudinem simul junctam puto esse faciendum, ne ex hoc ipso invidia concitetur, et introeundi aditus denegetur, et dum insatiabiles totum volumus, totum perdamus. Consulite ergo et providete, ut cum temperamento hoc agi tutius possit.—Ep. 4. p. 9.

[k] [εἰσαχθέντων Διονυσίου καὶ Φαύστου καὶ Μαξίμου καὶ Μαρκέλλου καὶ Χαιρήμονος, Αἰμιλιανὸς, διέπων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν εἶπε, Καὶ ἀγράφως ὑμῖν διελέχθην περὶ τῆς φιλανθρωπίας τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν ᾗ περὶ ὑμᾶς κέχρηνται· δεδώκασι γὰρ ἐξουσίαν ὑμῖν σωτηρίας εἰ βούλοισθε ἐπὶ τὸ κατὰ φύσιν τρέπεσθαι, καὶ θεοὺς τοὺς σώζοντας αὐτῶν τὴν βασιλείαν προσκυνεῖν, ἐπιλαθέσθαι τε τῶν παρὰ φύσιν. Τί οὖν φατὲ πρὸς ταῦτα; Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀχαρίστους ὑμᾶς ἔσεσθαι περὶ τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν αὐτῶν προσδοκῶ, ἐπειδήπερ ἐπὶ τὰ βελτίω ὑμᾶς πορτρέπονται. Διονύσιος ἀπεκρίνατο· Οὐ πάντες πάντας προσκυνοῦσι θεοὺς, ἀλλ' ἕκαστοι τινὰς, οὓς νομίζουσιν. Ἡμεῖς τοίνυν τὸν ἕνα Θεὸν καὶ δημιουργὸν τῶν ἁπάντων, τὸν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐγχειρίσαντα τοῖς θεοφιλεστάτοις Οὐαλεριανῷ καὶ Γαλλιήνῳ σεβαστοῖς, τοῦτον καὶ σέβομεν καὶ προσκυνοῦμεν, καὶ τούτῳ διηνεκῶς ὑπὲρ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῶν ὅπως ἀσάλευτος διαμένῃ, προσευχόμεθα. Αἰμιλιανὸς διέπων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτοῖς εἶπε· Τίς γὰρ ὑμᾶς κωλύει καὶ τοῦτον, εἴπερ ἐστὶ θεὸς, μετὰ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν θεῶν προσκυνεῖν; θεοὺς γὰρ σέβειν ἐκελεύσθητε, καὶ θεοὺς οὓς πάντες ἴσασι. Διοι ύσιος ἀπεκρίνατο· Ἡμεῖς οὐδένα ἕτερον προσκυνοῦμεν. Αἰμιλιανὸς διέπων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτοῖς εἶπεν· Ὁρῶ ὑμᾶς ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀχαρίστους ὄντας καὶ ἀναισθήτους τῆς πραότητος τῶν σεβαστῶν ἡμῶν. Διόπερ οὐκ ἔσεσθε ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ. Ἀλλὰ ἀποσταλήσεσθε εἰς τὰ μέρη τῆς Λιβύης, καὶ ἐν τόπῳ λεγομένῳ Κεφρώ· τοῦτον γὰρ τὸν τόπον ἐξελεξάμην ἐκ τῆς κελεύσεως τῶν σεβαστῶν ἡμῶν.] Οὐδαμῶς δὲ ἐξέσται οὔτε ὑμῖν οὔτε ἄλλοις τισὶν, ἢ συνόδους ποιεῖσθαι, ἢ εἰς τὰ καλούμενα κοιμητήρια εἰσιέναι. Εἰ δέ τις φανείη μὴ γενόμενος εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦτον ὃν ἐκέλευσα, ἢ ἐν συναγωγῇ τινὶ εὑρεθείη, ἑαυτῷ τὸν κίνδυνον ἐπαρτήσει. [Οὐ γὰρ ἐπιλείψει ἡ δέουσα ἐπιστρέφεια. Ἀπόστητε οὖν ὅπου ἐκελεύσθητε. Καὶ νοσοῦντα δὲ με κατήπειξεν οὐδὲ μιᾶς ὑπέρθεσιν δοὺς ἡμέρας. Ποίαν οὖν ἔτι τοῦ συνάγειν ἢ μὴ συνάγειν εἶχον σχολήν; Εἶτα μεθ' ἕτερά φησιν·] Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῆς αἰσθητῆς ἡμεῖς μετὰ τοῦ Κυρίου συναγωγῆς ἀπέστημεν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει σπουδαιότερον συνεκρότουν, ὡς συνὼν, ἀπὼν μὲν τῷ σώματι, ὡς εἶπον, παρὼν δὲ τῷ πνεύματι. Ἐν δὲ τῇ Κεφροῖ, καὶ πολλὴ συνεπεδήμησεν ἡμῖν ἐκκλησία, [τῶν μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀδελφῶν ἑπομένων, τῶν δὲ συνόντων ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου· κἀκεῖ θύραν ἡμῖν ὁ Θεὸς ἀνέῳξε τοῦ λόγου. Καὶ τὸ μὲν

CHAP. VII.

6. The sum of it is, that the assemblies were never intermitted, but observed *σπουδαιότερον*, 'the more diligently' and industriously, and God gave His blessing to it, a greater liberty than they had reason to look for, *ὡς πλατύτερον ἐκκλησιάζειν δύνασθαι*, and many advantageous opportunities to glorify God under their restraint, many aliens brought home to heaven by these means.

7. The same good will of Him that dwelleth in the burning but not consuming bush, whose power doth so presentiate itself to them that are in afflictions, that it is said

1 Cor. xii. 9. *ἐπισκηνοῦν*, to 'pitch the tent,' to 'dwell,' as Christ did by His incarnation[1], upon or among such, as are thus tempted, in-

John i. 14. spire and inflame with the same pure zeal, and crown with the like successes, all that are now so nearly concerned to transcribe their copy, to receive benefit by this exhortatory.

Now the God of all grace who hath called us into His eternal glory by Christ Jesus, after that ye have suffered

[1 Pet. v. 10.] a while, Himself "restore you, stablish, strengthen, settle you [m]."

Zeph. iii. 18. "I will gather them that are sorrowful for the solemn assembly, who are of thee, to whom the reproach of it was a burden."

πρῶτον ἐδιώχθημεν, ἐλιθοβολήθημεν, ὕστερον δέ τινες οὐκ ὀλίγοι τῶν ἐθνῶν τὰ εἴδωλα καταλιπόντες ἐπέστρεψαν ἐπὶ τὸν Θεόν. Οὐ πρότερον γὰρ παραδεξαμένοις αὐτοῖς, τότε πρῶτον δι' ἡμῶν ὁ λόγος ἐπεσπάρη.—Hist. Eccl, lib. vii. c. 11.

[1] *ἐσκήνωσεν.*

[m] *αὐτὸς καταρτίσαι* [*ὑμᾶς, στηρίξαι, σθενώσαι, θεμελιώσαι.*]

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